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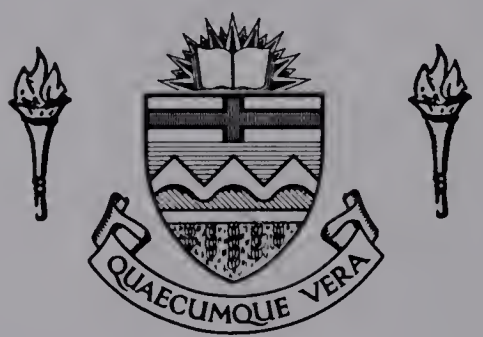

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THE MORKOVICE DIALECT:
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

by

JOSEPH W. PATIK

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Morkovice Dialect: Phonology and Morphology submitted by Joseph W. Patik in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date . . . . . September

ABSTRACT

The Morkovice dialect is a subdialect belonging to the general group of Central Moravian dialects. It is situated in the eastern part of central Moravia near the town of Kroměříž. Its position among the other subdialects in the Central Moravian group is established by two crucial arguments:

1) Considering the morphological data from various Central Moravian subdialects as presented by J. Skulina, the Morkovice dialect belongs basically to the eastern peripheral subgroup. However, morphological features of the surveyed dialect show certain departures from the eastern peripheral type; some of the features are shared with other Central Moravian dialectal types, and some are idiosyncratic. Therefore, we can hypothesize that the Morkovice dialect represents an isolated enclave in the eastern peripheral subgroup.

2) Taking into account the subdivision of the eastern peripheral group into Northern and Southern sections as proposed by J. Bělič in terms of individual phonological features, we note that the Morkovice dialect shares some of these features with the North, others with the South. This fact further proves the status of the Morkovice dialect as a transitional dialect.

The basic phonological differences between the Morkovice dialect and Standard Czech appear in the vocalic system. The Standard Czech phonemes /ú/, /í/ are absent, and some vocalic phonemes have a different allophonic distribution in certain phonological environments in the Morkovice dialect.

The morphophonemic features of the Morkovice dialect are similar to those of Standard Czech; however, voice assimilation and gemination have different results and conditioning in the Morkovice dialect depending upon the type of boundary. The most striking contrastive feature of the Morkovice dialect is the progressive voice assimilation of /v/.

In morphology, leveling is more prevalent in the Morkovice dialect and consequently paradigms are quite different in comparison with Standard Czech. Certain morphological forms (e.g., gerunds, possessive adjectives) are rarely or never used in the Morkovice dialect.

The phonology, morphophonemics and morphology of the dialect are presented from a synchronic point of view, the method being essentially the one developed by American linguists, such as Gleason, and Czech linguists, such as Hála, or, in dialectology, Skulina. While the shortcomings of this method are apparent, particularly in the section on morphophonemics, the method seems eminently suitable for the intended purpose, i.e., a description of the phonology, morphophonemics and morphology of the Morkovice dialect. This kind of complete description of the Morkovice dialect has never been prepared before, and it can serve as a useful basis for two types of further research: 1) a diachronic study of the dialect, and 2) the application of explicit theoretical frameworks, such as generative grammar, in an attempt to provide explanations for the facts presented in this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0. The purpose of this study is to describe the basic phonetic and morphological features of the peripheral subdialect of the Central-Moravian group of dialects known commonly as "Hanácká nářečí". A considerable number of features of this subdialect is shared to a greater or lesser extent by the whole Central-Moravian region; these have been classified on a broader scale by many Czech dialectologists in various general works on Czech dialects. Nevertheless, the majority of these exposés, however excellent they may be, suffer from excessive generalization which is inevitable with respect to the complexity of the presented material. The present study will focus on a small portion of territory where certain characteristic phenomena cannot be accounted for by the available general outline of features. It is hoped that this approach will help bridge the gap that exists between such general descriptions and reality. It is also hoped that this survey may be of assistance to scholars seeking more detailed information on Moravian dialects.

1.1. Even though speakers of the dialect described in this study are often called "Hanáci" with respect to their cultural and socio-economical heritage, their language differs quite markedly from what is considered the core of "Hanácká nářečí"--both phonetically and morphologically. In order to express this divergence, and in order to avoid erroneous association with the central dialects of this region, a specific term is assigned to the dialect under investigation. In accordance with

the name of a small town situated in the centre of the territory where this dialect is spoken, it will be referred to as the "Morkovice dialect". This term--except for the above reason--is selected utterly arbitrarily and cannot be found in any reference work on Moravian dialects. However, the name "Morkovice" is sometimes mentioned in the treatises on Moravian dialects (see section 1.5.).

1.2. The former trend of describing types rather than particular dialects has been recently abandoned. As a result, numerous monographs dealing with Moravian dialects are now available and a great part of present research efforts is also dedicated to local dialectology. However, the region of Hanácká nářečí is so diverse as to phonological and morphological phenomena, that many smaller subdialects have not been examined and identified. In the past decade there have been many serious attempts to make up for this deficiency and to obtain at least basic information from the uninvestigated areas. At regular intervals, dialectal questionnaires have been sent out to every little village, where under the guidance of local teachers answers were given to carefully selected questions. Material thus gathered is intended for the purpose of a dialectal atlas which represents in itself a major task of modern Czech dialectology (see (33)).* Endeavours to examine as much as possible in the field of dialectology are prompted by the tendency that points towards gradual elimination of sharp dialectal differences and towards interdialectal integration on the whole Czech-speaking territory.

1.3. As mentioned above, no work on dialects, available thus far, deals with the Morkovice dialect in particular. However, a number of

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*The number refers here and elsewhere in this thesis to the item in the Bibliography.

monographs written recently deal with the dialect of a small portion of territory or even of a single village that is in the close vicinity of the Morkovice dialect, or belongs also to the peripheral sphere of the Hanácká nářečí. There are numerous excellent works by Josef Skulina (46-50) on whose data part of this study is based. A treatise by František Kopečný represents a valuable contribution to the field of the mapping of dialectal differentiations in the northern group of Hanácká nářečí (43). F. Kopečný also described in detail the dialect of his town of Určice (42). A recently published survey of Czech dialects by J. Bělič (31) is an indispensable manual and a source of well organized reliable information on many Moravian as well as Bohemian dialects.

1.4. Although the dialect of the Morkovice area is not directly mentioned, there are in some works certain scant indirect references that can be applied to this dialect. Thus J. Chloupek wrote in his article (37), which followed immediately the processing of material obtained by the first data-gathering survey undertaken in the middle fifties, that in the eastern-most regions, Hanácká nářečí appears to be quite heterogeneous (p. 411). Since the Morkovice dialect borders directly on the group of Eastern-Moravian dialects, this statement may be applied to the former as well. In another article written in cooperation with A. Studnička (40), J. Chloupek points out the lack of attention given so far to this whole peripheral area with respect to the existing diversification of dialects, their structure and historical origin. In a study dealing with the development of the Czech language and dialectology ((7), p. 183), the name of one of the villages that is assumed here to be on the very border of the territory where the Morkovice dialect is spoken is cited as

a borderline for a number of important isoglosses between the Hanácká and and the Eastern Moravian groups. However, the name of the village--Zdounky--is given without further elaboration as to its dialectal characteristics.

Slavomír Utěšený (54) recognized the problems of peripheral dialects within the Central-Moravian group,* but his research is directed mainly to the western borderline of Hanácká nářečí, adjacent to dialects of Bohemia. Svatava Prokešová (45) processed in a preliminary manner some results obtained by several data gathering surveys conducted by the Institute for the Czech Language. Some features that she found in certain peripheral parts of the Hanácká group are identical with the features present in the Morkovice dialect, but she deals exclusively with the district of the town of Znojmo.

1.5. Several studies have been written about the historical origin and development of Hanácká nářečí. František Matějek, in his article (44), examines a ledger of a monastery in Brno, which allows us to date the first features of the dialect to a period as early as the beginning of the XVI century. This proves that these dialects began developing more than four centuries ago, which contrasts with the previously held hypothesis that the Hanácká dialects originated in the second half of the XVII century. A similar conclusion is drawn by Alois Gregor (41) in his examination of the 1571 edition of Gramatyka česká by the renaissance Czech humanitarian Jan Blahoslav, who is considered to have

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*This term has been recently adopted by dialectologists in place of the former name "Hanácká nářečí" in order to distinguish between the dialectal and folkloric implications which the term "Hanácká" carries.

laid the foundations for Moravian historical dialectology. It is a point worth mentioning that it was Blahoslav who made the first direct reference to the dialect which is the subject of this thesis. Blahoslav travelled extensively in Moravia and wrote down in a form of disapproval some features of the local Moravian vernacular. His travels took him to Sležany.* There he noticed a rather idiosyncratic form for the locative singular of some words ending with s, z (e.g., mísi, kozi) surviving to this day on a much larger portion of territory. This feature along with the lost form -mi for the first person plural of all verbs was peculiar to the region of Sležany. Even though the latter phenomenon was in use elsewhere in Moravia, it was not present in the immediate surrounding of Sležany.

More recent, and quite detailed reference to the dialect of Morkovice was made by František Bartoš in his pioneer work on Moravian dialectology (30). Even though this work describes the features of the Morkovice dialect as they appeared about seven decades ago, this description has only a historical value. However, it may be found extremely useful for the purpose of a study concerned with the development of the Morkovice dialect.

Almost all the features which Bartoš lists for this subdialect are archaic and non-existent today; among them is the distinction l - ł (soft and hard l), the existence of two i phonemes (i and y), thematic vowel -e- instead of -i- in the class IV of verbs,** to name just a few.

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*Today Slížany, a little village adjacent to Morkovice; the two villages were recently incorporated into one small town called Morkovice-Slížany.

**See section 4.2.5.7.

F. Bartoš lists the feature mentioned by Blahoslav (-s+i, -z+i in the locative singular of feminine nouns), but only a few other features that are characteristic of the Morkovice dialect also today--e.g., the correspondences í ~ é, í ~ i* with respect to the Standard Czech language are indicated. Such sharp differences in a span of only a few decades show a very high degree of dialectal disintegration within the peripheral area.

Bartoš lists the villages of Morkovice, Sležany, Tetětice, Počenice and Uhřice as part of the dialect, and he names Morkovice as its center (p. 62). He finds in the villages of Prasklice, Pornice and Lhota some phenomena on the basis of which he considers these villages yet a further subdialect in the Morkovice region. At present no such distinctions exist and these villages are part of the Morkovice dialect as well.

1.6. Since the aim of this thesis is to describe the Morkovice dialect in its present form, we shall not elaborate further on the question of its origin and development. Other facts concerning the type which this dialect represents will be given in the following chapters.

1.7. Basic notation.

The data will be presented in the phonemic transcription of individual forms. For this purpose, the International Phonetic Alphabet is followed (see chart in the Appendix). Symbols used to represent allophones of individual phonemes are explained in the particular sections. In our transcription of data i will stand for both i and y, since all phonemic differentiation between the two has been lost--their usage in the standard Czech Orthography (SO) represents a historical convention, and

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*See section 5.1.1., rules C (2), C (1).

they also have an auxiliary function; e.g., d, t, n, are palatalized before i, but not before y.* In this study, the palatal nature of d, t, n will be attributed to these sounds exclusively, and wherever they occur, an apostrophe will mark this phenomenon:

e.g.: n'it'e (in place of the Standard Orthography nitě)
d'elat (in place of the Standard Orthography dělat)
t'ixo (in place of the Standard Orthography ticho)
bud'me (in place of the Standard Orthography budˇme)

Even though i is slightly higher after the palatal stops d'; t', n', this phenomenon is automatic and is conditioned by the "soft" nature of these sounds (see section 3.1.2.1., paragraph 1).

Vocalic length will be marked by an acute accent over the appropriate vowel: e.g., d'elám, mám, léto, dójit.

The transcription of the data will reflect all phenomena that are unpredictable by means of morphophonemic rules:

e.g., SO město - mn'esto, SO běda - bjeda, etc.

However, any phonetic phenomenon that can be accounted for by morphophonemic rules (see Chapter III) will not be expressed in the transcription: e.g., dub - b $\longrightarrow$ p on the basis of rule (2).

Unless otherwise stated, all the data are mine.** In some instances, data are based on the information solicited from speakers of the dialect through former personal encounters, or by means of letters, to which answers were received from persons of all age groups.

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*Similarly, there is no phonemic distinction between e - ě; ě is used to mark the palatalization of the preceding d, t, n and for some other auxiliary purposes. Palatalization of d, t, n when they do not precede i or ě is marked in the Standard Orthography by "ˇ".

**I am a native speaker of the Morkovice dialect; I lived in Morkovice from 1946 until 1964.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE MORKOVICE DIALECT AND ITS POSITION AMONG HANÁCKÁ NÁŘEČÍ

2.0. Morkovice (the complete administrative name is Morkovice-Slížany) is located 16 kilometres south-west of the district capital of Kroměříž in the eastern part of Central Moravia. Morkovice is the administrative centre for a number of surrounding villages and communities that include Prasklice, Pornice, Pačlavice, Lhota u Pačlavic, Uhřice, Skavsko, Počenice and Tetětice in the immediate surroundings. All of these, and other villages extending to the line Zborovice-Zdounky in the east, form the territory where the Morkovice dialect is spoken (for map, see Figure I in the Appendix, Part II).

2.1. To support the claim that the Morkovice dialect differs both from the pattern of central Hanácká nářečí and to a certain extent from its peripheral type, two sketch maps are presented in this chapter. Their purpose is solely to indicate a schematic relationship between the Morkovice dialect and the peripheral and central Hanácká nářečí, based on a number of isoglosses and distinctive features. The sketch maps are approximate as to the direction of lines for shared and specific features and do not represent a geographically accurate picture.

2.2. Since a direct study in the field was not possible, the presented argument relies on the data provided by the survey undertaken by the Institute for Czech Language, and on the information found in the survey of dialects compiled by J. Bělič (31).

2.3. Isoglosses of morphological features (according to Skulina).

In the middle sixties, the dialectological branch of the Institute for the Czech Language performed an extensive survey of Central Moravian dialects involving the gathering of information by means of questionnaires. Josef Skulina in his article "O 'centru' a 'periférii' v nářeční oblasti moravské (hanácké)" (50) expressed some views with respect to the contemporary situation of Hanácká nářečí, and processed the collected data in a preliminary manner. Skulina is especially concerned with morphological deviations, because he feels the sphere of morphology is free from accidental occurrences. In his opinion ((50), p. 174), it is difficult to assess appropriate boundaries and isoglosses with respect to lexical items, as vocabulary is much more flexible than morphological forms, and words from different dialectal areas are quite readily accepted by separate dialects through the process of interdialectal integration. Following Skulina, we shall deal with features that express the nature of both the macrosystem (unifying features), and the microsystem (differentiating phenomena) of the Morkovice dialect.

2.3.1. Originally, the questionnaire contained 46 questions from the sphere of morphology. Skulina concentrates on 34 different forms which he considers crucial. Even though some forms may vary from village to village, Skulina divided the territory into four major parts: center, east, west, and periphery. According to this division, the forms that Skulina assigns to the eastern and/or the peripheral part should be valid for the Morkovice dialect. Since this is not the case in all instances, the data will be expanded, and the appropriate forms used by speakers of the Morkovice dialect will be indicated in a separate column.

2.3.2. Isoglosses dividing the Central Moravian dialects into western and eastern subgroups. (The appropriate form for the Morkovice dialect is introduced only if it differs from the type found in the eastern subdivision.)

No.	Morphological form	Western subdivision	Eastern subdivision	Morkovice dialect
1.	Gen. sg. of xut'*	xot'i	xut'e	
2.	Gen. sg. of nemoc	nemoci	nemoce	
3.	Nom. sg. of kovárna	kováren'	kovárn'a	
4.	Dat. pl. of bratr	bratrum	bratrom	
5.	Ins. sg. of Lojza	Lojzem	Lojzó	
6.	Ins. pl. of host	host'ima	host'ama**	
7.	Gen. sg. of ta jedna	tí jední	té jedné	
8.	Gen. sg. of ten jeden	toho jednoho	teho jedneho	teho jedniho
9.	Nom. sg. of má	má	moja	
10.	Nom. pl. of mé	mí	moji	
11.	Gen. sg. of mého	mího	mojeho	
12.	Gen. pl. of mí	méx/míx	mojix	mojéx
13.	1st p. pl. of mi jsme	mi sme	mi zme	
14.	l-participle, e.g., rožal	rožnul	rožl	
15.	Participle, e.g., najedení	najedené	najezené	
16.	Infinitive, e.g., krást	krast	krast'	krast

Each of the above indicated forms represents an isogloss

---

*This is the transcribed form of Standard Czech. A glossary of these and all other data can be found in the Appendix, part III-IV. Numbers assigned to the individual forms do not correspond to those used by Skulina in his article.

**Sometimes more than one form is indicated by Skulina for individual subdivisions. For example, in this case, the indicated forms are host'ama or host'ima but only the former applies to the Morkovice dialect. For the sake of clarity, only the form which is true also for the Morkovice dialect (if applicable) is given.

dividing the East and West in the Central Moravian group. Regardless of the actual geographical routes of these isoglosses, the position of the Morkovice dialect among Hanácká nářečí is clearly demonstrated. Out of 16 morphological forms, the Morkovice dialect shares 13 forms with the eastern subdivision, one (No. 16) with the western subdivision, and two (Nos. 8, 12 are specific phenomena of that dialect). To express this situation by means of isolines of features, we shall have a bundle of isoglosses to the west of the Morkovice dialect, one isoline will be cutting this bundle and reaching into the western subdivision, and two isolines will encircle the Morkovice dialect.

2.3.3. Isoglosses dividing Hanácká nářečí into central and peripheral subgroups. (The appropriate form for the Morkovice dialect is given only if it differs from the peripheral type.)

No.	Morphological form	Central subdivision	Peripheral subdivision	Morkovice dialect
17.	Gen. sg. of břeh	břehô*	břeha	
18.	Loc. sg. of koš	košô	košu	
19.	Loc. sg. of pole	polô	polu	
20.	Loc. sg. of staven'í	staven'ó	staven'í	staven'i
21.	Dat. pl. of čepice	čepicím	čepicám	
22.	Acc. sg. of Franta	Frantô	Frantu	
23.	Loc. sg. of les	leso	lesu	
24.	Nom. pl. of koza	kozê*	koze	kozi
25.	Nom. pl. of xut'	xut'i	xut'e	
26.	Acc. pl. of voják	vojákê	vojáki	
27.	Loc. pl. of xlap	xlapex	xlapáx	xlapex
28.	Ins. pl. of kún'	kon'ema	kon'ama	

*ô and ê are middle vowels characteristic of this subgroup.

No.	Morphological form	Central subdivision	Peripheral subdivision	Morkovice dialect
29.	Adj. of Franta	Frantuj	Frantu	replaced by Franti (Gen. sg.)
30.	1st p. sg. já jsem	ja sô	já su	
31.	2nd imperat. bud'te	bôd'te	bud'te	
32.	Loc. pl. of lavice	lavicíx	lavicáx	
33.	Ins. pl. of xlapec	xlapcema	xlapcama	
34.	Nom. pl. of les	lesê	lese	lesi

Out of 18 forms above, the Morkovice dialect shares 14 with the peripheral region, only one with the central subgroup (No. 27), and four are specifically Morkovice dialect features (Nos. 20, 24, 29, 34). The densest bundle of isoglosses dividing the central and peripheral subdivisions will be crossed by one isoline connecting the Morkovice dialect with the central subgroup. Four isolines will encircle the Morkovice dialect area in respect to the above data.

2.3.4. Skulina indicates yet further contrasts between the western subgroup and the peripheral region, and between the central and eastern subgroups; those contrasts are quite irrelevant for our argument, since they do not represent major deviations in the Morkovice dialect area.

Figure II. On the basis of the presented data, a sketch map expressing the division of the Hanácká nářečí territory with respect to morphological features can be drawn. (For Figure II see Appendix, Part II.)

2.4. To obtain yet another proof of the somewhat irregular pattern of the Morkovice dialect, we shall consider the division presented

by Jaromír Bělič in his book Nástin české dialektologie (31). He subdivides the eastern region of Hanácká nářečí into two smaller groups. This division is still too wide and too general to account for the peculiar combination of phonetic features present in the Morkovice dialect.

2.4.1. Bělič gives the narrow pronunciation of the vowels e and o as the major characteristic of the whole eastern region of Central Moravian dialects. But this supposedly unifying feature does not apply to the Morkovice dialect. Also, Bělič writes that vowel lengthening before final -l is another unifying feature of this region, which is likewise not true of the Morkovice dialect. However, Bělič makes a concession and says that due to its transient nature, the eastern subgroup must be further divided into two major sections--North and South (31, p. 257). The fact that the Morkovice dialect cannot be exclusively associated with features enumerated for individual sections confirms the hypothesis that it represents a somewhat isolated enclave among these dialects.

2.5. Isoglosses of phonetic features within the eastern subgroup (according to Bělič).

Bělič places the boundary between the northern and southern sections of the eastern region to the South of Kroměříž (p. 257), which suggests that the Morkovice dialect is in the immediate vicinity of this boundary, or that it is a transitional dialect between the two types. The latter hypothesis is confirmed on the basis of a comparison of the appropriate Morkovice dialect forms with the forms given by Bělič for the northern and southern sections.

2.5.1. Some phonetic features of the subdivisions of the eastern region and their applicability to the Morkovice dialect.

A. North:

No.	Phonetic feature	Morkovice dialect
1.	5-member system of short vowels where e > o y > u	no
2.	3-member system of long vowels (á, é, ó)	yes
3.	voiced pronunciation of paired consonants before vowels and non-paired consonants across the morpheme boundary (e.g., g mostu for k mostu, kubme for kupme, etc.)	yes
4.	no v-prothesis (ohen' vs. vohen')	yes
5.	infinitive in -t'	no
6.	marginal retention of the opposition l vs. ł	no
7.	assimilation of v to the preceding voiceless consonant (e.g., kfočna for kvočna, tfrdá for tvrdá, etc.)	yes
8.	group mj for former m' (mjesto)	no

B. South:

No.	Phonetic feature	Morkovice dialect
1.	5-member system of short vowels where i < y	yes
2.	5-member system of long vowels (á, é, í, ó, ú)	no
3.	é for í after sibilants (e.g., sétko for sítko)	yes, but not universally
4.	no phoneme ł	yes
5.	group mn' for former m' (mn'esto)	yes
6.	infinitives in -t	yes
7.	voiceless pronunciation of paired consonants before vowels or non-paired consonants across the morpheme boundary (e.g., k mostu, kupme)	no
8.	prothetic v (vohen', von)	no

Figure III. Representing each feature by an isoline, we can draw a sketch map which expresses the position of the Morkovice dialect in the eastern periphery. (For Figure III see Appendix, Part II.)

2.6. On the basis of the presented arguments, the following definition as to the position of the Morkovice dialect among Hanácká nářečí can be postulated:

> The Morkovice dialect belongs basically to the eastern peripheral type of Central Moravian dialects and represents a transitional heterogeneous combination of features that are characteristic of the northern and southern sections of this type.

CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGICAL INVENTORY AND MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

3.0. There are several studies on the subject of the origin of sounds in Hanácká nářečí. In particular, the authoritative historical grammar of Czech by Trávníček (14) can be mentioned. An excellent investigation of the historical origin and development of sounds in Moravian dialects is presented by Arnošt Lamprecht in his article (56). The following inventory of the sound system is given in a pure synchronic way; in other words, no reference is made to the diachronic development.

3.1. Vocalic system.

3.1.1. Classification of vowels.

With respect to the distinctive feature of quantity, we can divide the vowels in the Morkovice dialect into two major groups:

A. short vowels

B. long vowels

3.1.2. Short vowels.

There are five short vowels in the Morkovice dialect: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/.* As to the place of articulation, vowels can be described in terms of height and position of tongue. As a secondary factor, the shape of the lips during articulation may be considered. The opposition "tense" versus "lax" is redundant, since all short vowels in the Morkovice

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*As customary, slants -/ /- are used for phonemic classification, square brackets -[ ]- for allophones. In this thesis, allophones of vocalic (and also consonantal) phonemes were selected in terms of what a non-native speaker would perceive if he came into the area.

dialect are lax. The major classification of short vowels is expressed by the following scheme:

TABLE 1

	Front		Central		Back
High	i				u
Mid		e		o	
Low			a		

As can be seen, short vowels are arranged in a symmetric triangular system.

3.1.2.1. Description of individual short vowels.

1. High front vowel:

Phoneme /i/; Allophones: [i]
[ʔi]
[·i]

Formation: The [i] allophone is a neutral vowel. When articulated, the tip of the tongue is shifted to the front section of the upper palate, but does not touch it. Its neutrality is the most typical among all vowels in the Morkovice dialect--it is neither open, nor closed. The lips are unrounded, but not excessively spread; their shape is elliptic. Acoustically, [i] is perceptibly diffuse. It has a sound of high tonality. The allophone [ʔi] is in complementary distribution with [i] and occurs only initially (see section 3.4.1.2., morphophonemic rule (17)). The quality of this allophone is best described by the term "abrupt onset" which gives this sound a noticeably lower tonality and a definite dark

colouring caused by the somewhat glottal nature of this allophone. However, the glottal element associated with [ʔi] is less distinguishable in comparison with vowels of the lower series. Less important and barely perceptible to the ear is the slightly raised [ˑi] after the three palatodentals /d'/, /t'/, /n'/.

Examples: [i] vim, spi, lit

[ʔi] ináč, im, iskra

[ˑi] d'ivox, n'ic, t'ixo

2. Mid front vowel:

Phoneme /e/; Allophones: [e]

[ʔe]

Formation: [e] is a neutral sound, but its pronunciation is sometimes marginally open. It may be called 'fronted' (TABLE 3), because in comparison with [i], it is pronounced slightly towards the center of the oral cavity, but it is definitely not a central vowel. When articulated, the tip of the tongue touches the back portion of the lower teeth. [e] is a typical mid sound. Its tonality is lower than for [i]; it has a diffuse character. As in the case of [ʔi], [ʔe] occurs only initially. Its guttural formant is more intense than for [ʔi].

Examples: [e] len, sen, vem, d'ecko

[ʔe] ešče, erteple

3. Low central vowel:

Phoneme /a/; Allophones: [a]

[ʔa]

Formation: [a] is a neutral vowel. The tongue is in the lowest position and is not shifted either towards the front or the back. The gap between the upper and lower teeth is widest. While all other short vowels are lax

in the Morkovice dialect, for [a] this quality is the most typical. The tonality of [a] is the lowest, and it is a compact sound. The lips are spread less than for [i] and [e]. As in the case of all vowels except /i/, rising is imperceptible after /d'/, /t'/, /n'/. Moreover, this combination is very rare and occurs only in a few instances--e.g., t'apat, xn'apat. [ʔa] is a sound which occurs initially and has a very strong abrupt onset. It is one of the most distinguishable characteristics of the Morkovice dialect, and due to its frequent occurrence, it gives rise to the impression that the pronunciation of this dialect is dark and guttural.*

Examples: [a] nama, tam, jak

[ʔa] aji, ale, a

4. Mid back vowel:

Phoneme /o/; Allophones: [o]

[ʔo]

Formation: [o] is a neutral vowel. We shall call this vowel 'centered' (TABLE 3), because it contrasts with the 'central' position of [a], and is articulated further back in the oral cavity, but it is definitely not a truly 'back' sound. The tip of the tongue is free in the oral cavity. The tonality is higher than for [a]; it is a semi-compact vowel. The lips are only slightly rounded. The 'glottalized' allophone [ʔo], i.e., [o] with the abrupt onset, occurs initially. However, [ʔo] has a considerably lesser abrupt onset than any other vowel described thus far.

Examples: [o] toš, potom

[ʔo] o, on, olej

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*The terms 'dark' and 'guttural' are used by Czech linguists to indicate the quality of sounds that are pronounced very low or in the back portion of the oral cavity.

5. High back vowel:

Phoneme /u/; Allophone: [u]

Formation: [u] is a neutral vowel. The tongue is shifted towards the back of the oral cavity and at the same time upwards, but its tip does not touch any articulatory points. When this sound is articulated, the mouth is only slightly open, but the lips are rounded more than for any other vowel and are protruded. The tonality is higher than for [a] or [o], but it can still be considered a semi-compact vowel. It is the only vowel where, in the initial position, the onset is imperceptible. Also fronting after /d'/, /t'/, /n'/ is negligible, and therefore there are no other allophones of [u].

Examples: [u] dum, umi, u

3.1.3. Long vowels.

The Morkovice dialect has only three long vowels: /á/, /é/, /ó/. When arranged into the same scheme as short vowels, the following picture emerges:

TABLE 2

	Front		Central		Back
Mid		é		ó	
Low			á		

As can be seen, the high series of long vowels is missing, which would make the system of long vowels asymmetric with respect to short vowels. However, the long-vowel system in itself is symmetric, since both

high vowels are absent from the system. There are two additional features associated with long vowels in the Morkovice dialect:

(i) quantity, or length of articulation, which is easily distinguishable from the time factor of short vowels,

(ii) abrupt onset which is so intense that the long vowel in the appropriate environment seems to be a combination of a vowel and a continuant glottal element. However, long vowels occur initially only seldom, and when they do, their occurrence is mainly functional (for an explanation of the term see section 3.1.4.3.).

3.1.3.1. Description of individiual long vowels:

1. Mid front vowel:

Phoneme /é/; Allophones: [é]

[ʔé]

Formation: [é] is a neutral vowel; nevertheless, it is slightly narrower than /e/. The tongue is shifted slightly more to the front and upwards; its tip touches the ridge of the lower teeth. The oral aperture is narrower and the lips are more spread than for [e]. The dark guttural allophone [ʔé] with strong onset has been introduced into the Morkovice dialect due to some foreign borrowings.

Examples: [é] méno, čék, sétko

[ʔé] éra, éro

2. Low central vowel:

Phoneme /á/; Allophones: [á]

[ʔá]

Formation: [á] differs from [a] also in some other articulatory phenomena apart from duration. It is basically also a low central neutral vowel, but

the tongue is more distant from the upper palate and is slightly shifted to the back. The tension is higher, and the mouth opening is wider. As a result, [á] is even more compact than [a] and is wider. [ʔa] is quite rare and occurs in some foreign loan words and functionally.

Examples: [á] mám, pátek, látka

[ʔá] (borrowing) árija

[ʔá] (functional) ále (e.g., in the expression: ále toš co bix nešel, pudu)*

3. Mid back vowel

Phoneme /ó/; Allophones: [ó]

marginally [ʔó]

Formation: [ó] is, similarly to [o], a "centered" neutral vowel, but it is slightly narrower than [o]. Its pronunciation is shifted more to the back of the oral cavity and is slightly raised towards the soft palate (velum). The lips are more rounded. [ó] is less compact than [o]. The presence of [ó] is one of the basic features of the Morkovice dialect; in comparison with other dialects and with the Standard language, it is a very frequent sound. However, the initial occurrence of [ʔó] is extremely rare and the trend is towards replacement of such [ʔó] by [ʔu] (e.g., óřad (very rarely) - uřad).

Examples: [ó] bóřka, nesó, tó

3.1.4. Some additional remarks concerning phenomena associated with vowels.

3.1.4.1. Vocality. This is a common acoustic feature of all

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*For translation of all expressions see Appendix, part III.

vowels (Hála (19), p. 150). This phenomenon, however, is not apparent in the same degree. The least amount of vocality can be observed for the vowels /u/, /i/, where the stream of air is somewhat restricted by the small opening of the oral cavity. On the other hand, the jet of air is least restricted during the articulation of /a/, and /a/ is therefore characterized by the greatest amount of vocality. /e/, /o/ have a smaller amount of vocality than /a/, but more than /i/, /u/. Consequently, we can divide vowels into three groups as to their vocality:

(i) vowels with full vocality - /a/

(ii) vowels with near full vocality - /e/, /o/

(iii) vowels with restricted vocality - /i/, /u/

It would be erroneous and misleading to simplify excessively the reasons for the absence of long /í/ and /ú/ in the Morkovice dialect, since it is obviously a phenomenon motivated by complex processes. However, it may be suggested that there is a certain relationship between the length (quantity) and vocality of vowels. The limited vocality of /i/, /u/ contributed to the elimination (or lack) of /ú/ and /í/ in the vowel system of the Morkovice dialect. The hypothesis that there is a relationship between quantity and vocality is further supported by the fact that the vowel with fullest vocality, /a/, is also the vowel with the maximal feature of length (see paragraph 3.1.4.3.).

3.1.4.2. Intensity. This feature is associated with stress. We can distinguish between:

(i) stressed vowels

(ii) unstressed vowels

However, apart from certain minor acoustic differences, there is no

distinction between stressed and unstressed vowels in the Morkovice dialect.

3.1.4.3. Quantity. (For detailed treatment as to the Standard language see Hála (19) and Chlumský (20)). Quantity in the Morkovice dialect is determined by the mode of articulation, and also by function* with respect to the state of mind and mood of the speaker (surprise, anxiety, anger, etc.), or with respect to certain set expressions.

a) articulatory quantity is the portion of time which the articulation of individual vowels consumes. This quantity is automatic in normal speech (see Hála (19), p. 183). The longest vowel is [á]. In the Morkovice dialect, [á] is more than twice as long as [a]. Both [ó] and [é] are perceptibly shorter than [á]; and their quantity is almost identical. In the Morkovice dialect they are about twice as long as [e], [o].

b) functional quantity is subjective and varies with respect to individual speakers. The following types may be assessed (adapted from Hála (19), pp. 194-95):

1. short vowels - no short vowels in the Morkovice dialect alter their quantity with respect to function in normal speech;
2. semi-long - in certain set expressions, long vowels become shortened: e.g., já mám hlad;
3. long - all long vowels in normal speech;
4. prolonged - in expressions involving astonishment, etc.: e.g., to je kráásа;

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*This is the term used by Hála ((19), p. 183).

5. extremely prolonged - in set expressions, e.g., no néééé, neřikéééé, etc.

TABLE 3. Schematic table of vowels in the Morkovice dialect (adapted from Hála (19), p. 182, and Gleason (1), p. 255).

Feature	Place of Articulation					Degree of oral aperture
	Front	Centre			Back	
		Fronted	Central	Centered		
High	i				u	least
Mid		é e		ó o		medium
Low			a á			most
Acoustic concentration	diffuse	diffuse	compact	semi-compact	semi-compact	--
Shape of lips	flat	elliptic	non-flat	semi-rounded	rounded	--
Vocality	restricted	near-full	full	near-full	restricted	--
Onset	slight	semi-strong	strong	weak	none	--
Tonality	high	semi-high	low	semi-low	semi-low	--
Number of allophones	N/A 3	2 2	2 2	2 1	1 N/A	--

3.2. Diphthongs.

3.2.1. On the basis of the definition that diphthongs represent a combination of two vowel sounds where one of these sounds lost a syllabic impulse (Hála (19), p. 290), it can be said that in the Morkovice dialect the element without syllabic impulse (off-glide) is lost, and as a result the vowel with syllabic impulse became long. This is true of all diphthongs within the morpheme of native words.

3.2.2. However, there are in the Morkovice dialect diphthongs which occur at the morpheme boundary:

1. au, eu, ou occur in those words in which a prefix is attached to a morpheme that begins with a vowel.

Examples: naučit

poučit

neučit

Diphthongs au, eu also appear in recently domesticated foreign borrowings within the morpheme boundary: auto

pneumatika

2. ao, eo, uo also occur at the morpheme boundary:

Examples: naopak

neotočit

uondat - marginal occurrence

3.2.3. In the Morkovice dialect there are also quasi-diphthongal groups aj, ej* which are phonetically realized as [aj], [ej], or [a$\hat{i}$], [e$\hat{i}$] (for [$\hat{i}$], see section 3.1.2., No. 1).

[aj], [ej] occur non-finally: e.g., pajdá, hejno

[a$\hat{i}$], [e$\hat{i}$] occur only finally: e.g., kraj, zlod'ej

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*To illustrate the distinction between 'true diphthong' and 'quasi-diphthong' we can compare, for example, poučit and kraj; ou in the former word is a true diphthong, i.e., o has a syllabic impulse which is lacked by u, even though there is always a morpheme boundary between the two components. aj, on the other hand, occurs in the Morkovice dialect only within one morpheme, but its diphthongal nature is lost before other vowels since the second element j forms a syllable with the ensuing vowel - kra-je. Thus, aj alternates with a+j, and due to such a 'split', aj cannot be considered a true diphthong. For treatment of this problem in Standard Czech, see Hála (19), pp. 291-92.

3.3. Consonantal system.

3.3.1. Classification of consonants.*

3.3.1.1. According to the location of an obstruction to the stream of air by articulators, the consonants of the Morkovice dialect can be divided into the following groups:

1. Consonants with an obstruction formed by both lips are BILABIALS - /p/, /b/, /m/.

2. Consonants which are articulated with an obstruction formed on the alveolar part of the oral cavity. These can be further subdivided into:

   a) ALVEODENTALS /t/, /d/, /n/, /c/, /s/, /z/ and also /l/, /r/, /ř/, which are articulated in the near vicinity of the upper teeth on the alveolar ridge;

   b) POSTALVEOLARS /š/, /ž/, /č/ - the obstruction is further in the oral cavity.

3. Consonants with the obstruction on the hard palate are PALATALS - /d'/, /t'/, /n'/. (These, since they contrast with the remaining "hard" consonants are called "soft", because of their acoustic effect). To this group also belongs /j/ which is sometimes called a semivowel because it combines both vocalic and consonantal elements.

4. Consonants with the obstruction on the soft palate (velum) are VELARS - /k/, /g/, /x/.

5. The consonant characterized by the obstruction in the larynx is called LARYNGEAL - /h/.

---

*The classification is based on the most recent approach towards classification of Czech consonants as presented by Hála (19). Wherever applicable, this classification is adapted in this thesis.

3.3.1.2. Also common is a classification according to the nature of the obstruction to the air passage:*

1. Consonants with the completely blocked air passage are STOPS - /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /t'/, /d'/, /k/, /g/.

2. Consonants characterized by free passage of the jet of air into the nasal cavity are NASALS - /m/, /n/, /n'/.

3. Consonants characterized by a complete, but gradually released, obstruction are AFFRICATES - /c/, /č/.

4. Consonants articulated when the obstruction is not complete but the passage of air is very narrowed are FRICATIVES - /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/, /j/, /x/, /h/.

5. A consonant characterized by a narrowed passage of the air stream on the sides of the oral cavity is called LATERAL - /l/.

6. Consonants which are characterized by the narrow air passage which is periodically reduced are called VIBRANTS (or TRILLS) - /r/, /ř/.

3.3.2. Some features associated with consonants:

3.3.2.1. Voice. Consonants are pronounced with or without the accompaniment of voice due to the vibration of the vocal cords. According to this feature, they are divided into: a) voiced consonants
b) voiceless consonants

Another quality can be associated with this feature: voiceless consonants have a firmer articulation (fortis), whereas the articulation of voiced consonants is less tense (lenis). Voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /t'/, /k/ are

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*Other criteria for classifications of consonants as to articulation are used as well. See, for example, the detailed treatment by Gleason (1), and with respect to Czech consonants, by Hála (19).

characterized by more abrupt explosion than voiced stops /b/, /d/, /d'/, /g/; voiceless fricatives /s/, /š/ are accompanied by friction during the whole duration of their articulation and are somewhat sharper than their voiced counterparts /z/, /ž/. Some consonants in the Morkovice dialect are paired in respect to voice: /p - b/, /t - d/, /t' - d'/, /k - g/, /f - v/, /s - z/, /š - ž/; others are inherently voiced: /m/, /n/, /n'/, /j/, /h/, /l/, /r/, /ř/, or inherently voiceless: /c/, /č/, /x/. Although there is a relationship between /h/ and /x/, and /h/ is assimilated to /x/ in specific environments, they cannot be considered a true pair, because /x/ does not assimilate to /h/. (For details see 3.4.1.2., Nos. (2)-(6). As positional variants, there are in the Morkovice dialect consonantal sounds that cannot be counted among regular phonemes; however, they represent allophonic counterparts to certain non-paired consonants. The consonant /c/ has a voiced counterpart [ʒ], for /č/ there is a variant [ǯ], and /x/ has a voiced counterpart in [ɣ]. We also have to distinguish a voiceless counterpart [r̥̆]* for otherwise voiced /ř/.

3.3.2.2. Sibilation. Sibilant consonants are characterized by a more or less sharp hissing sound. /s/, /z/ are sharp sibilants, /š/, /ž/ are less sharp sibilants. A similar feature is associated to a lesser degree with /c/, /č/; these are called assibilants.

3.3.2.3. Sonority. /l/ is the most sonorant consonantal sound in the Morkovice dialect. It has a high degree of vocality, which allows it to function almost like a vowel in the formation of syllables. /r/ is similar in nature to /l/ and aids in the formation of syllables, but its

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*The symbols are those used by Hála (19), p. 206.

sonority is suppressed by the oscillation of the apex.

3.3.2.4. Quantity. The "length" of consonants with respect to their division into momentaneous and continuant has been investigated by J. Chlumský (20), who gives the results of many tests involving the measuring of consonantal quantity. Some of the conclusions of Chlumský's investigation are given below:*

1. palatals are longer than corresponding non-palatals;
2. nasals are shorter than corresponding oral consonants;
3. stops are shorter than voiceless fricatives but longer than voiced fricatives;
4. the longest consonants are voiceless fricatives and affricates;
5. the shortest consonants are /l/, /r/;
6. /ř/ is longer than /r/;
7. after a long vowel, consonants are, as a rule, shorter and consequently weaker than after a short vowel.

Hála (19, p. 216) denies the existence of prolonged or "geminate" pronunciation of two identical consecutive consonants. However, in the Morkovice dialect, there is a prolongation of most adjacent identical or assimilated consonants across the boundary of words and some morphemes (see morphophonemic rule (13)).

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*We can apply these results to the Morkovice dialect, because the tests, conducted on the whole Czech-speaking territory, did not show major deviations.

3.3.3. Description of individual consonants.*

3.3.3.1. BILABIALS - /p/, /b/, /m/

1. Phoneme /p/; Allophones: [p] vl.
   [b] vd.

Formation: [p] is characterized by firm closure of the lips, and by closure of the nasal cavity by the velum. The tongue is relatively inactive and does not touch any articulators.**

Examples: [p] pil, pátek, práca
[b] kup boti - [kub boti]

2. Phoneme /b/; Allophones: [b] vd.
   [p] vl.

Formation: [b] differs from [p] basically by a somewhat less firm closure of lips.

3. Phoneme /m/; Allophones: [m]
   [m̩]

Formation: [m] differs from [p] and [b] in the relatively weak closure of lips. The uvula does not block the nasal cavity, whence its nasal nature. [m̩] is formed labiodentally--the lower lip touches the upper teeth. It is a positional variant which occurs before labiodentals (see morphophonemic rule (11)).

Examples: [m] tam, mám
[m̩] já sem vařil, já sem včerá bil - [já sem̩ vařil];
[já sem̩ fčerá bil]

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*Consonants are grouped with respect to articulators and points of articulation.

**For conditions concerning the occurrence of [b], see Morphophonemic rules. Morphophonemic rules specify the conditions also for all the remaining positional variants discussed in this section.

3.3.3.2. DORSO-ALVEOLARS - /t/, /d/, /n/

4. Phoneme /t/; Allophones: [t] vl.
[d] vd.

Formation: [t] is formed by the pressure of the front part of the dorsum against the alveols. Both nasal and oral cavities are blocked.

Examples: [t] tam, bit
[d] musim it dom - [musim iddom]

5. Phoneme /d/; Allophones: [d] vd.
[t] vl.

Formation: [d] is articulated like [t], but with slightly less tension.

Examples: [d] dum, dar
[t] odtamcut', pod stolem - [ottamcut'], [pot stolem]

6. Phoneme /n/; Allophones: [n]
[ŋ]

Formation: [n] is articulated similarly to [d], [t], but the nasal cavity remains unobstructed, and the pressure of the blade against the alveols is weaker. [ŋ] is velarized and is included in the group of dorso-velars. For its occurrence, see morphophonemic rule (10).

Examples: [n] nás, noha
[ŋ] venku, Manka, ingóst, rink hoři - [veŋku], [Maŋka], [iŋgóst], [riŋg hoři]

3.3.3.3. DORSO-PALATALS - /d'/, /t'/, /n'/

6. Phoneme /d'/; Allophones: [d'] vd.
[t'] vl.

Formation: [d'] is formed by a more energetic pressure of the dorsum against the upper palate. The apex rests against the back ridge of the

lower teeth. Both cavities are closed.

Examples: [d'] d'ivat se, d'elat

[t'] bud', lod', sed'te - [but'], [lot'], [set'te]

7. Phoneme /t'/; Allophones: [t'] vl.

[d'] vd.

Formation: [t'] is formed similarly to [d'], but the strength, associated with its articulation, is lesser.

Examples: [t'] pit'i, t'ixo

[d'] sit' na ribi - [sid' na ribi]

8. Phoneme /n'/; Allophones: [n']

Formation: The main distinction of the articulation of [n'] is the absence of an obstruction for the nasal cavity. The sound is less energetic than [t'] and [d']. An accompanying feature is the presence of nasal resonance.

Examples: [n'] kun', n'izko

3.3.3.4. DORSO-VELARS - /k/, /g/, [ŋ]

9. Phoneme /k/; Allophones: [k] vl.

[g] vd.

Formation: [k] is formed by the closure of both nasal and oral cavities which are suddenly released. The main point of articulation is in the back of the oral cavity under the velum. Closure of both cavities is quite firm.

Examples: [k] kuna, klobók

[g] tak mn'e řekn'i - [tag mn'e řekn'i]

10. Phoneme /g/; Allophones: [g] vd.

Formation: Characteristics of the allophone [g] are the same as for [k],

except that the closure of cavities is less firm. As a phoneme, /g/ is rare in the Morkovice dialect; its origin is in assimilated foreign loan words and in sporadic adaptations of standard lexical items. However, [g] occurs as a frequent positional variant of /k/ (see No. 9 of this section). Since /g/ does not occur in the position that is affected by assimilation, we cannot speak of another allophone for /g/.*

Examples: [g] loan words: guma, gramatika

adapted from the standard language: gat'e, glacek (kalhoty, klacek)

11. To this group we may also add the non-phonemic variant of the dorso-alveoral /n/ - [ɳ] (see subsection 3.3.3.2., No. 6).

3.3.3.5. LABIO-DENTALS - /f/, /v/, [ɱ]

12. Phoneme /f/; Allophones: [f] vl.

Formation: [f] is produced by a narrow escape between the lower lip and the upper teeth. To facilitate the pronunciation, the lower jaw is slightly retracted. The tongue is in a neutral position and the opening of the lips is perceptibly narrowed and shortened. This sound is accompanied throughout its articulation by sharp friction. Phonemically, /f/ is not a true member of the Morkovice dialect consonantal system. However, it is quite frequent nowadays because of numerous borrowings. Due to the lack of its occurrence in a position which would be subject to voicing assimilation, no other allophones of /f/ need to be listed.

Examples: [f] fára, film, figura

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*As an exception to this rule, we may consider an occasional surname Lang, or the word gong, which is, however, rarely used.

13. Phoneme /v/; Allophones: [v] vd.
[f] vl.

Formation: [v] is formed basically in the same manner as [f], but its articulation is less tense. [f] is very frequent in the Morkovice dialect due to peculiar assimilations (see morphophonemic rule (9)).

Examples: [v] vi, vaša, voda
[f] d'iv, d'evčica, s vama, kvočna - [d'if], [d'efčica], etc.

14. A member of this group is also the non-phonemic positional variant of /m/ - [m̥] (see subsection 3.3.3.1., No. 3).

3.3.3.6. PREDORSO-ALVEOLAR SIBILANTS - /s/, /z/

15. Phoneme /s/; Allophones: [s] vl.
[z] vd.

Formation: A narrow channel through which the air passes is formed by the close proximity of the front dorsum to the alveolar ridge. The apex rests against the lower front teeth. The stream of air is forced by an aperture between the surface of the tongue, and the palate. The main point of articulation is near the upper teeth.

Examples: [s] pes, seno
[z] pes bjehal s babó - [pez bjehal z babó]

16. Phoneme /z/; Allophones: [z] vd.
[s] vl.

Formation: The same as for /s/, but with less of a hissing sound, and with less intensity.

Examples: [z] zámek, zato
[s] bez, vuz - [bes], [vus]

3.3.3.7. APICO-PREPALATAL SIBILANTS - /š̌/, /ž̌/

Formation: These two consonants are articulated basically like the predorso-alveolar sibilants, but the main point of articulation is slightly retracted towards the palate. The tip of the tongue does not touch the lower teeth, but is raised towards the palate. The hissing sound accompanying these sounds is less sharp due to the reduced force of the jet of air passing through a larger opening between the alveols and the teeth.

17. Phoneme /š̌/; Allophones: [š̌] vl.
[ž̌] vd.

Examples: [š̌] šlapa, šest
[ž̌] máš̌ novi boti - [máž̌ novi boti]

18. Phoneme /ž̌/; Allophones: [ž̌] vd.
[š̌] vl.

Examples: [ž̌] žaba, žák
[š̌] bjež̌, muž̌

3.3.3.8. PREDORSO-PALATAL - /j/

19. Phoneme /j/; Allophones: [j]
[i̯]

Formation: The articulation of [j] is similar to that described in the group of dorso-palatals, but it is pronounced with less intensity. The main point of articulation is the front part of the dorsum. The allophone [i̯] represents a weakened [j]; it is shorter than [j] and almost approaches [i]. Its occurrence in the Morkovice dialect is limited to only a few words.

Examples: [j] piju, já
[i̯] kij, zlod'ej, kraj - [kii̯], [zlod'ei̯], [krai̯]

3.3.3.9. DORSO-PALATO-VELAR - (x)

20. Phoneme /x/; Allophones: [x] vl.
[ɣ̟] vd.

Formation: [x] is articulated basically in the same way as consonants described in the dorso-velar group. However, there is a slight contact between the dorsum and the palate. The voiced variant in the Morkovice dialect is definitely not [h], but [ɣ̟]. It is distinguished by a lesser amount of accompanying friction.

Examples: [x] xleba, xodit
[ɣ̟] bix bil, nex ho - [biɣ̟ bil], [neɣ̟ ho]

3.3.3.10. LARYNGEAL - /h/

21. Phoneme /h/; Allophones: [h] vd.
[x] vl.
[ʔh] vd.

Formation: The articulation of [h] does not depend on the oral cavity, whose main purpose is to freely release the laryngeal sound. [h] is characterized by a distinctive shape of the vocal cords during the articulation; they are contracted into a triangular shape. With respect to [ʔh], it could be argued that the strong glottal element associated with initial [h] is transferred onto it due to the influence of the following vowel. However, there is no glottalization discernible in any other initial consonant before a vowel. It must therefore be assumed that such glottalization is a specific feature of [h] in the initial position.

Examples: [h] dráha, lehnót
[x] sn'ih, dluh - [sn'ix], [dlux]
[ʔh] honem, hen - [ʔhonem], [ʔhen]

3.3.3.11. TWO-PHASE DORSO-ALVEOLARS /c/, /č/

Formation: This group is idiosyncratic because of the peculiar articulation of its members. The initial stage of articulation is similar to the formation of dorso-alveolars, but during the final stage of articulation, the mode of release is similar to that for sibilants. Thus, the initial stage has an occlusive characteristic, while the final stage has a feature of assibilation, i.e., it is accompanied by a hissing sound. Nevertheless, in the Morkovice dialect these consonants cannot be considered as some compound sound [t + s], or [t + š].

22. Phoneme /c/; Allophones: [c] vl.
[ʒ] vd.

Formation: [c] is similar to [t], but the apex is placed against the lower front teeth. The remaining articulators have the same position as during the pronunciation of [s].

Examples: [c] cap, celé
[ʒ] vjec bila, lecgdá - [vjeʒ bila], [leʒgdá]

23. Phoneme /č/; Allophone: [č] vl.
[ǯ] vd.

Formation: [č] is less similar to [t], and its articulation is retracted to the very back of the alveols. The release is similar to [š].

Examples: [č] čekat, čáp
[ǯ] hlidač bil, léčba - [hlidaǯ bil], [léǯba]

3.3.3.12. APICO-ALVEOLAR LATERAL - /l/

24. Phoneme /l/; Allophones: [l]

Formation: The apex is placed against the alveolar ridge and on both sides there are free passages for the stream of air.

Examples: [l] l̲éto, pil̲

3.3.3.13. APICO-ALVEOLAR VIBRANTS (TRILLS) - /r/, /ř/

25. Phoneme /r/; Allophones: [r]

Formation: The major distinction between [r] and the already described dorso-alveolars is that there is never a complete occlusion between the apex and the alveols. The gap is narrowed or widened by repetitive vibrations of the apex. [r] in the Morkovice dialect has at least two (usually more) oscillations of the apex; this is one of the dialectal characteristics. Every [r] has a certain vocalic base (weak schwa).

Examples: [r] r̲ád, r̲iba

26. Phoneme /ř/; Allophones: [ř] vd.

[r̝̊] vl.

Formation: [ř] is similar to [r], but the apex is more tense and the jet of air is stronger. The oscillations are more numerous and faster. There is no vocalic base.

Examples: [ř] dř̲it, ř̲ikat

[r̝̊] tř̲i, zet' ř̲ekl - [tr̝̊i], [zet' r̝̊ekl]

3.3.3.14. GLOTTAL STOP - /ʔ/

27. /ʔ/ is marginally phonemic; Allophone: [ʔ]

Formation: The stream of air from the lungs is obstructed by a firm contraction of the vocal cords which are subsequently released abruptly.

It is claimed that the glottal stop is pronounced only in specific positions and/or that it accompanies only certain sounds (Gleason (1), p. 241, Hála (19), p. 359), which means that it is predictable. However, we may point to certain instances from the Morkovice dialect which suggest that this sound has a marginal phonemic nature, since in

an otherwise identical environment it does not occur in all words. It is only the glottal stop that distinguishes between the following minimal pairs: soka - z oka / [soka - s$^{?}$oka]; soči - z oči / [soči - s$^{?}$oči]; suxem - s uxem / [suxem - s$^{?}$uxem]. In these examples, the glottal stop may be attributed to the juncture between the preposition and the word. But there is no juncture in the pair sužovat - zužovat - [s$^{?}$užovat],* or zorat - zorat [s$^{?}$orat]. This is undeniably a problem that deserves a thorough study, which is impossible within the scope of this thesis.

The reason for classifying [$^{?}$] as a marginal phoneme is that while as a rule the glottal stop is predictable between a juncture and a vowel, it is unpredictable in isolated instances elsewhere, and would have to be marked in the dictionary of the Morkovice dialect.

3.3.3.15. OTHER NON-PHONEMIC SOUNDS - [^{t}c], [^{t}s], [^{t}č], [^{t}š]. These are predictable by rules as a result of certain sound assimilations (see morphophonemic rule (14)).

Examples: [^{t}s] bud' se, at' se [bu^{t}se, a^{t}se], voiced: [^{d}z] - pod zemó

[^{t}š] at' šije [a^{t}šije], voiced:[^{d}ž] - at' žije [a^{d}žije]

[^{t}č] at'čeká, dobitče [a^{t}čeká, dobi^{t}če]

[^{t}c] bud' celé den' doma [bu^{t}celé den' doma]

These sounds are not true allophones, because they cannot be associated with any specific phonemes. They may be described as "fused" sounds--c, č, s, š + t on-glide, respectively.

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*Devoicing before a glottal stop is automatic. There is a morpheme boundary in zužovat between the prefix z and u, but that does not seem to be a factor influencing the occurrence of [$^{?}$]--e.g., in the words zorganizovat, zautomatizovat, z is separated from these words by a morpheme boundary, but the glottal stop occurs only in the latter--[s$^{?}$automatizovat].

TABLE 4. Schematic table of consonants in the Morkovice dialect (based on Gleason (1), p. 252, and Hála (19), p. 211).

Mode of articulation		Place of articulation															
		Bi-labial		Labio-dental		Alveolar				Palatal		Velar		Laryn-geal		Glottal	
						Alveo-dentals		Postal-veolar									
		vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.	vl.	vd.
Stops	oral	p	b			t	d			t'	d'	k	g			?	
	nasal		m		(m̩)		n				n'		(ŋ)				
Affricates						c	(ʒ)	č	(ǯ)								
Fricatives						s	z	š	ž								
				f	v						j	x	(ɣ)				
Lateral							l										
Trills							r										
						(ř)	ř										
By vocal chords															h		(ʔh)

3.4. MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES.

3.4.1. Automatic changes. All automatic changes are predictable solely on the basis of phonological environment; i.e., the shape of specific morphemes is determined by their occurrence in the environment of other morphemes, particularly in terms of the phonological elements which occur at various boundaries separating the morphemes. The rules expressing such changes in the Morkovice dialect are postulated in this section according to the following criterion: since the formulation of the rules attempts to reflect as close as possible the surface level, the rules are given in phonetic, rather than phonemic, terms; i.e., structural description, structural change and conditions for individual rules indicate the actual phonetic shape of sounds involved in a particular change. This approach serves as an abbreviatory and the most economical device within the scope of the descriptive method to illustrate the processes that are at work in the Morkovice dialect.*

The actual phonetic structure of morphemes will be assessed on the basis of boundaries that connect the individual segments of speech. In order to obtain correct results, the following types of boundaries must be distinguished:

i) a pause which occurs at the end of an utterance (which may be a single word, a single sentence, group of sentences, etc.), or which occurs between parts of a single sentence. The purpose of a pause is mainly communicative; i.e., the utterance is divided into smaller sections separated by pauses to facilitate comprehension. The implementation

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*For comments on limitations and shortcomings of this method, see Chapter VI, section 6.2.

of this pause, particularly within one sentence, may be functional, however.* This type of boundary will be symbolized by "#".

ii) a boundary which divides "stress groups"** in the speech. The stress group may be defined as a rhythmical speech unit composed of one or more words that contains only one stress (Hála (19), page 311). Additional constituents of a stress group are usually monosyllabic words. According to their position and function in the stress groups, they can be divided as follows:

a) proclitics which are at the beginning of a stress group; these are only those monosyllabic words that are able to carry a stress --e.g., prepositions: do, na, which form units with the ensuing unstressed words:

dò domu nà domn'e ("`" marks the stress)

pronouns: jǎ su, òn je

conjunctions: žè n'ic, šàk ano, etc.***

b) enclitics which are attached to the main constituent of the stress groups; these cannot carry a stress--e.g.:

enclitic and reflexive pronouns: t'e, si, se

forms of the auxiliary "bit" - su, si, zme, bi, etc.

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*The term "functional" is used here in the same meaning as in the paragraph on "functional length"--see page 24. It is a technical term used by Hála (19, "funkční pauza"). In this particular instance it means that the pause may be subjective, i.e., it reflects the state of mind, hesitation, etc.

**Some Czech linguists (e.g., Hála, 19; Trávníček, 14) use the musical term "takt"--bar.

***In the Morkovice dialect, the conjunctions a, ale, aji are not proclitic; they represent a separate item isolated from the preceding and the following stress group by a boundary.

c) neutral monosyllabic words which may be either proclitic or enclitic when combined with other monosyllabic words; their position determines whether they are stressed or unstressed: e.g.:

tò je on but: jè to on or: òn je to

Thus, any element in the above expression may be stressed if it stands in the initial position (proclitic), or unstressed if it stands elsewhere (enclitic).

This type of boundary will be called a minor juncture* and will be symbolized by "%".

iii) a boundary which separates individual grammatical words within the stress group. In the Morkovice dialect, no boundary in the sense of pause is perceptible in this environment. This type of boundary will be called a major juncture,* and will be symbolized by "≠".

iv) a morpheme boundary which occurs between individual morphemes within a grammatical word. This type will be symbolized by "≠".

Example of segmentations and boundaries:

The following sentence was written down during a conversation among young people ranging in age from 16 to 19 years:

Už se teho moc namluvilo o sn'ežnim mužovi, ale doposavád'
se ho n'ikemu nepodařilo vifotografovat.

With respect to the above described boundaries, this sentence is segmented as follows:

Už ≠ se ≠ te ≠ ho % moc % na ≠ mluvi ≠ l ≠ o % o ≠ sn'ež ≠
nim % muž ≠ ovi # ale % do ≠ posavad' ≠ se ≠ ho % n'i ≠ k ≠
emu % ne ≠ po ≠ daři ≠ l ≠ o % vi ≠ foto ≠ graf ≠ ova ≠ t #

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*These terms are used by Ch. Bidwell (21), but have a slightly different meaning in this thesis.

3.4.1.1. Notes on stress. Primary stress in the Morkovice dialect is regular and is predictable by a simple rule:

(1) Each stress group has only one primary stress which occurs on its first syllable.

It is, therefore, crucial to assign correct boundaries (in this case, the minor junctures). In the above sentence, the stress will occur on the first vowel after each "%" and also "#", and the sentence will be realized as follows:

Ùž se teho mòc nàmluvilo ò sn'ežnim mùžovi, àle dòposavád' se ho n'ìkemu nèpodařilo vìfotografovat.

Rule (1) can be presented as follows:

(1') $V \longrightarrow \grave{V} \quad / \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ \% \end{matrix} \right\} (C^{n}) ___$

where (C^{n}) signifies that an n number of consonants may, but need not, occur, and V = vowel.

Secondary stress (weak stress) occurs generally on a syllable following the stressed syllable, but its occurrence is governed also by some other phenomena--e.g., each non-initial word in compounds carries a weak stress on the first syllable--čèrveno-mòdro-bìlé, pòliticko-èkonomické, etc. This stress will not be examined in detail in this study.

3.4.1.2. Automatic changes due to assimilation. With respect to the process of assimilation, two basic categories can be established:

I. a segment of the morpheme assimilates to the element that follows (element adjacent to the right)--regressive assimilation;

II. a segment of the morpheme assimilates to the preceding element (element adjacent to the left)--progressive assimilation.

I. Regressive voice assimilation.

The following rules can be postulated:

(2) All paired* voiced consonants and also the inherently voiced consonants [h], [ř] become devoiced in the environment before a pause (#), and before all paired voiceless and inherently voiceless consonants regardless of the boundary. Other inherently voiced consonants remain unchanged (e.g., [l], [r], [m], [n]--N/C).

(2') $\begin{bmatrix} C_{vd} \\ h \\ \check{r} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} C_{vl} \\ x \\ \hat{\check{r}} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{Bmatrix} \# \\ C_{vl},\ C_{(vl)} \end{Bmatrix}$

where: C_{vd} - paired voiced consonants

C_{vl} - paired voiceless consonants

$C_{(vl)}$ - inherently voiceless consonants

Examples: Before pause - vlez, dub, vjež, bjeh, zbořˇ - [vles], [dup], [vješ], etc.

Across boundaries - z teho, pod tebó, vlez tam, bud'te - [s teho], etc.

Within morphemes - nehti, řtán, hvozd** - [nexti], [řtán], [hvost]

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*Consonants for which voicing is distinctive as opposed to consonants for which voicing is not distinctive--inherently voiced or voiceless. For particular classification see section 3.3.2.1. Since some rules must make specific reference to either paired voiced (voiceless) or inherently voiced (voiceless) consonants, this fact will be stated in the structural description of rules.

**In clusters, the rightmost consonant is considered first; since a pause ensues, d⟶t, and, consequently, z⟶s--[hvost].

(3) All paired voiceless and inherently voiceless consonants become voiced in the environment before paired voiced consonants except [v], and also before [h], everywhere except across the pause.

(3') $\begin{bmatrix} C_{vl} \\ c \\ \check{c} \\ x \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} C_{vd} \\ z \\ \check{z} \\ \gamma \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \text{__} \begin{Bmatrix} C_{vd} \\ h \end{Bmatrix}$ (except v, and except ___#)

Examples: k domu, kli<u>č</u> bil, kle<u>c</u> bila, ta<u>k</u> honem, <u>k</u> host'in'e, xlap bil, mn'et hlad, kle<u>t</u>ba, ta<u>k</u>hle, pro<u>s</u>ba -- [g domu], [kliž bil], [klez bila], [tag honem], etc.

but: tvuj does not assimilate to */dvuj/

tvor does not assimilate to */dvor/

xvála does not assimilate to */γvála/

(4) Paired voiceless and inherently voiceless consonants become voiced in the environment before the inherently voiced consonants except [h],* only across the minor and major junctures and before [m] across the morpheme boundary.

(4') $\begin{bmatrix} C_{vl} \\ c \\ \check{c} \\ x \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} C_{vd} \\ z \\ \check{z} \\ \gamma \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \text{__} \begin{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \% \\ \neq \end{Bmatrix} \\ + \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} C_{(vd)} \\ \text{except h} \end{Bmatrix} \\ m \end{bmatrix}$

Examples: for [m] across +: ku<u>p</u>me, zatop<u>m</u>e, pla<u>č</u>me, pla<u>t'</u>me -- [kubme], [plažme], etc.

for C_{vl}, $C_{(vl)}$ across %, ≠: <u>k</u> mamn'e, <u>k</u> noze, pro<u>č</u> je, nevi<u>š</u> n'ic, mo<u>c</u> né, xla<u>p</u> leži, bi<u>x</u> řekl -- [g mamn'e], [g noze], etc.

---

*h is accounted for by rule (2).

but: tma does not assimilate to */dma/ (there is no ≠ between t and m)

kráva does not assimilate to */gráva/ (there is no boundary between k and r)

pletla does not assimilate to */pledla/ (t does not assimilate to l across ≠)

knot does not assimilate to */gnot/ (k does not assimilate to n across ≠)

Exception: k does not become g in: k n'im, k nám, k n'emu, even though there is ≠ in these words.

(5) The paired voiceless consonants and the inherently voiceless consonants become voiced before the paired voiced consonant [v] only across the major and minor junctures.

(5') $\begin{bmatrix} C_{vl} \\ c \\ č \\ x \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} C_{vd} \\ z \\ ž \\ ǯ \\ ǧ \end{bmatrix} \Big/ __ \begin{Bmatrix} \% \\ \neq \end{Bmatrix} v$

Examples: k vod'e, k večeru, xlap vi, moc vi, bix vám, natoč vodu -- [g vod'e], [xlabvi], etc.

Exception: k does not assimilate to g in: k vám

s does not assimilate to z in: s vama

(6) The paired voiceless and inherently voiceless consonants become voiced before all vowels across the major juncture only (i.e., only within the "stress group").

(6') $\begin{bmatrix} C_{vl} \\ c \\ č \\ x \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} C_{vd} \\ z \\ ž \\ ǯ \\ ǧ \end{bmatrix} \Big/ __ \neq V$

where V = any vowel

Examples: šak ano, xlap an'i necekl, šak on, proč ix, já bix an'i --
[šag ano], [xlab an'i], etc.

It should be noted, however, that the distribution of the major juncture sometimes varies, and that there may be a minor juncture or a pause instead: e.g., a) ten xlap % an'i tá baba -- as compared to: xlap ≠ an'i necekl -- the difference is that in the former example, p in xlap is not voiced, and a in an'i has an independent stress; there is a glottal stop between the two words [xlap? an'i].

b) ten xlap # o kerim bila řeč -- the difference, when compared to: xlap ≠ an'i % necekl, is self-evident; p remains voiceless because of the pause that follows.

NOTE: Rules (3), (4), (5), and (6) all express the same structural change; however, conditions for these rules vary markedly. An attempt has been made to collapse these rules, but it is felt that within this theoretical framework, such a "shortcut" is not justified since it is extremely complicated and makes for less clarity. A different approach--e.g., rules based on distinctive features--would allow us to collapse these rules. See also section 6.2.

(7) All paired voiced consonants become devoiced before a glottal stop regardless of the boundary.*

(7') $C_{vd} \longrightarrow C_{vl} \;/\; __ ?$

*Because of the problems associated with the occurrence of a glottal stop in the Morkovice dialect (see section 3.3.3.14), no rule is postulated here as to the predictability of a glottal stop.

Examples: z ulice, v oleju, z ohnutiho drátu -- [s˒ ohnutiho drátu];
cf. zohnutiho drátu -- N/C

(8) The inherently voiced consonant [j] becomes devoiced in the environment before a pause.

(8') $j \longrightarrow \underset{\wedge}{i}$ / ___ #

Examples: kij, kraj, fuj, maluj -- [kii̯], [krai̯], [fui̯], [malui̯]

II. Progressive voice assimilation.

(9) The paired voiced consonant [v] and the inherently voiced consonant [ř] become devoiced after a paired voiceless consonant within a morpheme.

(9') $\begin{bmatrix} v \\ \check{r} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} f \\ \underset{\wedge}{\check{r}} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \quad \neq C_{vl} __ \neq$

Examples: svuj, tvuj, xvála, tvor, švec, kvočna, středa, kříž, tři, křik, křest -- [sfuj], [xfála], [šfec], [kfočna], [st̯ředa], [k̯řik], [t̯ři], etc.

but: lva, s řadó, podřeknót, dřit, etc. -- v, ř -- N/C

III. Regressive articulatory assimilation.

(10) Dorso-alveolar [n] becomes a dorso-velar [ŋ] before [k], [g] everywhere except across a pause.

(10') n ⟶ ŋ / ___ k, g (except ___ # k, g)

Examples: tenké, cingat, ten kun', on kecá -- [teŋké], [ciŋgat], [teŋ kun'], etc.

(11) Bilabial [m] becomes a labio-dental [ɱ] before

[f], [v], everywhere except across a pause.

(11') $m \longrightarrow \underset{\curvearrowleft}{m}$ / ___ f, v (except ___ # f, v)

Examples: fam̲fári, zfam̲frn'et, tam̲ fókalo, já sem̲ vjed'el -- [famfári], [tam fókalo]

(12) Dorso alveolar [n] becomes a bilabial [m] before [b] across the morpheme boundary.

(12') $n \longrightarrow m$ / ___ $\neq$ b

Examples: klen̲ba, han̲ba (n̲ is apparent in words like klenót, hanobit) -- [klemba], [hamba]

IV. Regressive simplifications of clusters.

(13) Two identical (or assimilated with respect to voicing) consecutive consonants become geminate everywhere except across the pause. The second element, if palatal, causes a palatal pronunciation of the geminate cluster even where the preceding consonant is its non-palatal respective counterpart.

(13') $C_i \longrightarrow CC_{(pal)}$ / ___ $C_{i(pal)}$ (except ___ $\#C_{i(pal)}$)

where C_i - identical or assimilated consonant

$CC_{(pal)}$ - geminate result which may or may not be palatal

$C_{i(pal)}$ - identical consonant which may be palatal

Exception: z̲ in the prefix roz̲- is lost when followed by s̲, š̲: e.g.,

roz̲svit'it -- [rosvit'it]

roz̲št'ipat -- [rošt'ipat]

Examples: odd'elat as opposed to od'elat -- [od'd'elat] vs. [od'elat]

bil liné as opposed to bil iné -- [billiné vs. [bil ʔiné]

pod domem as opposed to po domex -- [poddomem] vs. [po domex]

les zhořel as opposed to les hořel -- [lezzhořel] vs. [lez hořel]--

(s in les is subject to rule (3)).

This rule also expresses the degree of assimilation with regard to palatalization. Palatalization occurs only when [d'], [t'], [n'] are preceded by non-palatals [d], [t], [n], and the result is subsequently subject to gemination. However, when the palatals [d'], [t'], [n'] are the first segment in the cluster, gemination does not occur, and the palatals are only subjected to regular voice assimilation.

Examples: plat'te -- N/C, bud'te (d' is subject to voice assim. -- [but'te]

pod'dom -- N/C, pod' tam (d' is subject to voice assim. --

[pot' tam] but: bit t'ixo [bit't'ixo], etc.

(14) Oral dorso-alveolars and oral palatals are reduced in value before sibilants and assibilants and become voiced or voiceless on-glides of the following segment according to its voice quality. This occurs across the major and minor junctures.

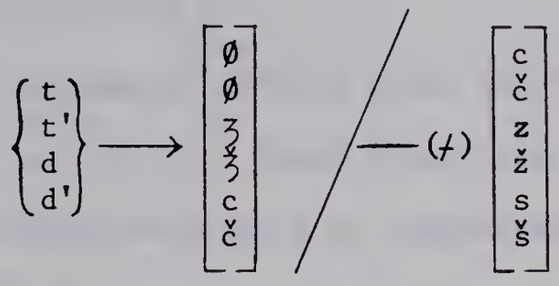
(14') $\left\{\begin{matrix} t \\ t' \\ d \\ d' \end{matrix}\right\} \longrightarrow \left[\begin{matrix} t^{s} \\ t^{\check{s}} \\ t^{c} \\ t^{\check{c}} \\ d^{z} \\ d^{\check{z}} \end{matrix}\right] * \Big/ __ \left\{\begin{matrix} \% \\ \neq \end{matrix}\right\} \left[\begin{matrix} s \\ \check{s} \\ c \\ \check{c} \\ z \\ \check{z} \end{matrix}\right]$

Examples: at' čeká, at' šeptá, pod celim, at' žene, pod zemó -- [a^{t}čeka], [a^{t}šeptá], [po^{t}celim], [a^{d}žene], [po^{d}zemó]

---

*Although these sounds are similar to corresponding assibilants, they are perceptibly less compact.

(15) Oral dorso-alveolars and oral palatals are dropped before assibilants, but when followed by voiced or voiceless sibilants with which they merge, they result in assibilants. The voice is determined by the second element. This occurs across the morpheme boundary and within morphemes.

(15') 

where (≠) - morpheme boundary may or may not occur

Examples: mladš̲i, Hrad̲čany, xudš̲i, pjet̲set, pod̲zim, bohat̲stvi --
[mlači], [Hračani], [xuči], [pjecet], [poʒim], [bohactvi]

Other changes with respect to loss of phonemes are marginal:

(16) [v] is dropped in the cluster v̲z̲, before another consonant across the morpheme boundary.

(16') $v \longrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad \underline{\quad} \; z \neq C$

Examples: v̲z̲pomenót -- which is subject to Rule (2) -- [spomenót]
v̲z̲pamatovat -- which is subject to Rule (2) -- [spamatovat]

VI. Specific changes.

(17) All vowels except [u] have a sharp onset after a pause.*

---

*An onset must not be confused with a glottal stop, because their distribution, as well as their quality, varies; e.g., # elektrárna -- [ʔelektrárna], z ≠ elektrárni -- [sʔ elektrárni].

(17') V (except u) ⟶ ʔV / # ___

Examples: ano, oko, ináč, ešče -- [ʔano], [ʔoko], [ʔináč], [ʔešče]

3.4.2. Non-automatic changes. These changes are not predictable by the phonological environment alone. They are statable either by the morphological environment--e.g.:

e ⟶ Ø / in stems of certain nouns before the endings of G, D, V . . . where these nouns must be specified either as a group or individually

Example: sen, G sg. sØn-a - sna, D sg. sØn-u - snu, etc.

or, such rules may be stated on the basis of a combination of morphological environment and phonological environment--e.g.:

e ⟶ Ø / in stems of certain nouns ___ V where V = any vowel

Example: sen, sØn-a - sna, sØn-u - snu, etc.

3.4.2.1. Examples of non-automatic changes. We shall not postulate any specific rules for the non-automatic changes due to the above indicated complexity.* The most common alternations will be stated and illustrated by examples. More detailed treatment of these changes with respect to individual word classes will be given in the Outline of Morphology, Chapter IV.

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*See Chapter VI, section 6.1., No. 4.

I. Loss of phonemes.*

a) Movable e (Alternation e ~ Ø).**

This phenomenon occurs in a number of grammatical categories, principally in nouns of all genders.

Examples:	pes - psa	but:	les - lesa
	kolek - kolka	but:	kolék - koléka
	žrádlo - žrádel	but:	bodlo - bodl

II. Vowel alternations.

b) u ~ o

Examples:	vul - vola	but:	kul - kula
	hlup - hlópé	but:	klub - klubové

c) i ~ é

Examples:	pirko - péro	but:	d'irka - d'ira
	sito - sétko	but:	korito - koritko

d) o ~ i

Examples:	nosit - nist	but:	prosit - N/C
	lóbat - polibek	but:	hlóbat - hlóbka

III. Length alternation.

e) á ~ a

Examples: práca - pracovat; hrát - hraju

f) ó ~ o

Examples: kórka - korat; stópat - stopa

---

*This could be called also "addition of phonemes"; it is assumed here that the form with e is basic. Research has shown that 'deleting' is more natural than 'adding'. See also Schaarschmidt (5), page 73.

**In Chapter IV this alternation will be referred to as change "E".

g) é ~ e

Examples: méno - menovat; zédka - zedn'ik

IV. Consonant alternation.

h) Consonants k, h (g), x alternate with č, ž, š, respectively. For an easy reference (particularly in the chapter on morphology), this rule will be symbolized as change "Č".

Examples: oko - oči, noha - nožka, psixolog - psixoložka, uxo - uši

i) Consonants k, h, x alternate under different circumstances also with c, z, š, respectively. This change will be symbolized as change "C".

Examples: ruka - ruce, sódruh - sódruzi, muxa - muše

j) Consonants c, z, s alternate with č, ž, š, respectively. This change will be symbolized as "C-Č".

Examples: noc - nočn'i, mazat - maže, visoké - viška

k) Consonants d, t, n alternate with palatals d', t', n', respectively. This change will be symbolized as "D'".

Examples: had - had'i, pit - pit'i, pán - pán'i

l) Consonant r alternates with ř - change "Ř".

Examples: bratr - bratře, papir - papiře

m) Consonants b, p, v, f alternate with bj, pj, vj, fj, respectively. We shall symbolize this change as "BJ".

Examples: xleba - xlebje, sklep - sklepje, velké - vjetši, trefa - trefje

n) Consonant m alternates with mn' - change "MN'".

Examples: mama - mamn'e, mám - mn'el, etc.

CHAPTER IV

OUTLINE OF MORPHOLOGY

4.0. Morphological categories and forms in Czech as well as in major dialects are examined in detail from a diachronic point of view in many treatises on the subject (see (7), (9), (13)). Although the historical development of such categories and forms in the Morkovice dialect includes certain idiosyncratic phenomena, their examination is outside the scope of this thesis. Only the basic features and most common characteristics associated with the actual state of the morphological system in the Morkovice dialect are presented in this outline.

4.1. Principal classification of words. With respect to their behaviour and function in a sentence, words are divided as follows:

A) inflected words:

a) nouns
b) adjectives
c) pronouns
d) numerals

} subject to declension

e) verbs - subject to conjugation

B) invariable words:

f) adverbs
g) prepositions
h) conjunctions
i) particles
j) interjections

4.2. Characteristics of individual word classes.

4.2.1. NOUNS. According to gender, nouns can be divided into three groups: i) masculine (abbreviated masc.); ii) feminine (abbreviated fem.); and iii) neuter (abbreviated neut.).

With all genders, the following categories are associated: a) number; b) case.

There are basically two numbers--singular and plural (abbreviated sg., pl.)--but remnants of the dual number are apparent in names for certain paired parts of a human body and represent a semantic differentiation from the regular plural number. For example:

oko (sg.) - 'eye' oka (regular pl.) - 'loops' oči (remnant of dual) - 'eyes'

uxo - 'ear' uxa (pl.) - 'handles' uši (remnant of dual) - 'ears'

Seven cases are in use, although two or more cases can have the same form; the seven cases are: 1) Nominative (N); 2) Accusative (A); 3) Genitive (G); 4) Dative (D); 5) Vocative (V); 6) Instrumental (I); and 7) Locative or Prepositional (L).

The feature of animateness is relevant only for masculine nouns and it results in some specific phenomena in the declensional paradigm.

Paradigms are established on the basis of endings which are added to the stem. With respect to the original vowel in the stem, some nouns still preserve the nature of "softness" and "hardness". The distinction between soft and hard paradigms is, however, to a certain extent neutralized due to the process of analogy. Most cases differ only marginally within a particular gender class.

4.2.1.1. Masculine nouns. Generally, masculine nouns have a zero ending in the nominative singular.

PARADIGMS:

		Animate Nouns		Inanimate Nouns	
Number/Case		Hard	Soft	Hard	Soft
Sg.	N	pan-*	zet'-	hrad-	stroj-
	A	pan-a	zet'-a	hrad-	stroj-
	G	pan-a	zet'-a	hrad-a	stroj-a
	D	pan-ovi	zet'-ovi	hrad-u	stroj-u
	V	pan-e, kluk-u	zet'-u	hrad-e	stroj-u
	I	pan-em	zet'-em	hrad-em	stroj-em
	L	pan-ovi	zet'-ovi	hrad-u, papiř-e	stroj-u
Pl.	N	pán'-i	zet'-i	hrad-i	stroj-e
	A	pán-i	zet'-e	hrad-i	stroj-e
	G	pán-u	zet'-u	hrad-u	stroj-u
	D	pán-om	zet'-om	hrad-om	stroj-om
	V	pán'-i	zet'-i	hrad-i	stroj-e
	I	pán-ama	zet'-ama	hrad-ama	stroj-ama
	L	pán-áx**	zet'-áx	hrad-áx	stroj-áx

Comments:

1) Changes "D'" and "Ř" (see non-automatic morphophonemic changes, section 3.4.2.1.) occur before the ending of the N and V pl. of

---

*Also, the lengthened version of this noun is used in the sg.: pán, pána, etc.; in the plural, however, only the long form is used.

**Only sporadically, also -ex occurs: xlapex, bratrex.

animate nouns.

Examples: pán - pan'i

vagabund - vagabund'i

kohót - kohót'i

doxtor - doxtoři

2) If an animate noun ends in -Cr (where C = consonant), change "Ř" occurs before the endings of N, V pl. and also V sg.:

N. sg.: bratr V sg.: bratře N, V pl.: bratři

3) -u in the L sg. of hard inanimate nouns alternates often with -e, which causes the following changes:

i) "Ř" - o papiru and also: na papiře

ii) "D'" - o kominu and also: v komin'e

o objedu and also: na objed'e

iii) "BJ" - o sklepu and also: ve sklepje

o hřbitovu and also: na hřbitovje

iv) "MN'"- o domu and also: v domn'e

As a rule, the form with -u is used after the preposition o; the form with -e in other instances.

4) Animate nouns with stems ending in velar (hard paradigm) have the ending -u in Vocative sg. instead of -e. Moreover, in N and V pl., they undergo the change "C":

kluk - V sg. kluku - N, V pl. kluci

sódruh - V sg. sódruhu - N, V pl. sódruzi

xirurg - V sg. xirurgu - N, V pl. xirurzi

dux - V sg. duxu - N, V pl. duši

Exceptions: buh, človjek - V sg. bože, človječe (change "Č"); moreover, človjek has a suppletive plural lid'i.

5) Nouns with the stem ending in /d', t', n', j, ř, ž, z, š, c, č/ belong to the soft paradigm.

Examples: Animate: muž, dřič, kupec, kun', kn'ez, kovář, zlod'ej

Inanimate: nuž, koš, hmožd'iř, bič, hrnec, tiden', kraj

6) Some nouns have a N sg. ending -e after -c-; e.g., sódce, vudce. These are declined according to the soft animate paradigm.

7) Nouns with the ending -i in N sg.--e.g., pruvodči, kréči, kočí--are declined like soft masculine adjectives.

8) Nominalized adjectives--e.g., hajné, přibuzné--are declined like hard masculine adjectives.

9) The endings of some masculine nouns are morphologically feminine--e.g., d'eda, tata, předseda; these are declined according to the feminine paradigm žena (section 4.2.1.2.). Moreover, tata and d'eda do not have N, V pl.; the N, V plural of diminutive or pejorative forms is used:

N sg.: tat'ik - N pl.: tat'ici;

N sg.: tat'inek - N pl.: tat'inci

N sg.: d'edek - N pl.: d'edci

N sg.: d'edeček - N pl.: d'edečci, etc.

10) A sporadic number of nouns has a genitive plural with zero ending:

N sg.: t'isic - G pl.: t'isic

N pl.: pen'ize - G pl.: pen'ez (sg. form pen'iz is used very rarely).

11) The nouns kn'iže, hrabje are not declined in the Morkovice dialect when followed by a nominal attribute: četl sem o hrabje Monte-Xristovi;

bil sem tam s kn'iže pánem

When these nouns stand in a sentence without a nominal attribute, they are declined like irregular neuter nouns (section 4.2.1.3., No. 2).

4.2.1.2. Feminine nouns. The basic ending of feminine nouns in N sg. is -a. These nouns will be divided into hard a-type and soft a-type. A number of nouns have a zero ending in N sg.; these will be called mixed type, since there is no distinction in the endings as to hard and soft nouns.

PARADIGMS:

Number/Case		Hard a-type	Soft a-type	Mixed type
Sg.	N	žen-a	pisn'-a	kost'-
	A	žen-u	pisn'-u	kost'-
	G	žen-i	pisn'-i	kost'-i
	D	žen'-e	pisn'-i	kost'-i
	V	žen-o	pisn'-o	kost'-o
	I	žen-ó	pisn'-ó	kost'-ó
	L	žen'-e, koz-i	pisn'-i	kost'-i
Pl.	N	žen-i	pisn'-e	kost'-e
	A	žen-i	pisn'-e	kost'-e
	G	žen-	pisen', pisn'-i	kost'-i
	D	žen-ám	pisn'-ám	kost'-ám
	V	žen-i	pisn'-e	kost'-e
	I	žen-ama	pisn'-ama	kost'-ama
	L	žen-áx	pisn'-áx	kost'-áx

Comments:

1) Almost complete levelling has been accomplished between soft a-type and mixed type; only the forms of N, A sg. differ. Even though the form with -i in G pl. of the soft a-type occurs rarely, the tendency is towards attaining correspondence with the mixed type--largely because of the pressure of the Standard language, where both types have the ending -í.

2) Nouns that belong to the hard a-type or mixed paradigms and have the stem consonant -m- undergo the "MN'" change before every ending -e.

e.g.: zem - zemn'-e (mixed type)

dáma - dámn'-e (hard a-type), etc.

3) In D, L sg. of hard a-type, nouns that have an appropriate consonant before the ending -e undergo changes "D'" "Ř", "C", and "BJ":

Examples: N sg.: žena - D, L sg.: žen'e

N sg.: dcera - D, L sg.: dceře

N sg.: buxta - D, L sg.: buxt'e

N sg.: Praha - D, L sg.: Praze

N sg.: muxa - D, L sg.: muše

N sg.: stuha - D, L sg.: stuze

N sg.: matka - D, L sg.: matce

N sg.: stopa - D, L sg.: stopje

N sg.: baba - D, L sg.: babje

N sg.: mluva - D, L sg.: mluvje

N sg.: trefa - D, L sg.: trefje

4) The alternate ending -i in L sg. of the hard a-type nouns occurs after the sibilants /s, z/, and represents one of the characteristic

features of the Morkovice dialect (see also Chapter II). This ending is apparently an influence of the soft feminine types:

misa - misi, koza - kozi, etc.

5) In the G pl. of the hard and soft a-types, -e- is sometimes inserted between the last two segments of a final cluster in the stem ("E" change takes place):

e.g.: d'ivka - d'ivek; kočka - koček; kavárn'a - kavár'en'

but: lampa - lamp; prosba - prosb; hvjezda - hvjezd

6) To the soft a-type paradigm belong all nouns with the stem ending in / d', t', n', ž, š, c, č, ř, j/.

Examples: kád'a, oprat'a, pisn'a, kuža, nuša, hrča, vesn'ica, záře, zmija, etc.

7) Some nouns that belong to the mixed paradigm kost' have N, A pl. according to the paradigm žena:

e.g.: N sg.: step, miš; N, A pl.: stepi, miši

8) Nominalized adjectives of the type komorná are declined like hard feminine adjectives.

9) The noun pan'i is irregular and is declined like a soft feminine adjective.

4.2.1.3. Neuter nouns. There are three basic types of neuter nouns: hard type has the ending -o in N sg.; soft type has the ending -e in N sg.; i-type is only soft and has the ending -i in N sg.

PARADIGMS:

Number/case		Hard type	Soft type	I-type
Sg.	N	mist-o	moř-e	staven'-i
	A	mist-o	moř-e	staven'-i
	G	mist-a	moř-a	staven'-i
	D	mist-u	moř-u	staven'-i
	V	mist-o	moř-e	staven'-i
	I	mist-em	moř-em	staven'-im
	L	mist-u (-e)	moř-u	staven'-i
Pl.	N	mist-a	moř-a	staven'-i
	A	mist-a	moř-a	staven'-i
	G	mist-	moř-i	staven'-i
	D	mist-ám	moř-ám (-om)	staven'-im
	V	mist-a	moř-a	staven'-i
	I	mist-ama	moř-ama	staven'-ama
	L	mist-áx	moř-áx	staven'-áx

Comments:

1) The alternate ending -e in L sg. of the hard type paradigm is used generally after prepositions other than o, but never after the stem consonant /k, x, h (g) /; e.g.: *v uše (uxo), *v mlice (mliko), *v Konze (Kongo), *v blaze (blaho). This may be regarded as a tendency towards eliminating consonantal alternations within one paradigm (in this case the alternation "C"). When the ending -e is used, the other usual changes--"MN'", "D'", "Ř", "BJ"--apply.

Examples: N sg.: mn'esto - L sg.: mn'est'e

N sg.: bahno - L sg.: bahn'e

N sg.: zlato - L sg.: zlat'e

N sg.: pózdro - L sg.: pózdře

N sg.: pismo - L sg.: pismn'e

N sg.: dřevo - L sg.: dřevje

2) The stems of the nouns for young animals and birds are expanded in all cases except N, A, V sg. by the group -at-. They represent an irregular declensional type, since in the singular they are declined according to the soft type, and in the plural according to the hard type.

e.g.: kuře - kuřata

ščen'e - ščen'ata

tele - telata

The masculine nouns kn'iže, hrabje are also declined in this way, provided that they are not accompanied by a nominal attribute: kn'ižata, hrabjata, etc.

3) The plural of oko, uxo is either oka, uxa

or oči, uši.

The two alternatives are semantically differentiated. The forms oči, uši have an irregular declension--in N, A, G, V, pl. they are declined like the i-type paradigm, in other cases in the plural, like the soft paradigm.

4) In G pl. of the hard paradigm, the "E" change sometimes occurs:

okno - oken kolečko - koleček pásmo - pásem

but: křovisko - křovisk mn'esto - mn'est, etc.

The plural for all nouns is less heterogeneous than the singular, as can be seen from the number of endings that occur in individual cases:

TABLE 5. Schematic table of nominal endings.

Gender		Masculine				Feminine			Neuter			Number of possible endings
		ANIMATE		INANIMATE								
No.	Paradigm case	Hard	Soft	Hard	Soft	Hard	Soft	Mixed	Hard	Soft	I-type	
Sg.	N	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	a	a	Ø	o	e	i	5
	A	a	a	Ø	Ø	u	u	Ø	o	e	i	6
	G	a	a	a	a	i	i	i	a	a	i	2
	D	ovi	ovi	u	u	e	i	i	u	u	i	4
	V	e	u	e	u	o	o	o	o	e	i	4
	I	em	em	em	em	ó	ó	ó	em	em	im	3
	L	ovi	ovi	u, e	u	e	i	i	u, e	u	i	4
Pl.	N	i	i	i	e	i	e	e	a	a	i	3
	A	i	e	i	e	i	e	e	a	a	i	3
	G	u	u	u	u	Ø	Ø (i)	i	Ø	i	i	3
	D	om	om	om	om	ám	ám	ám	ám	ám (om)	ám	2
	V	i	i	i	e	i	e	e	a	a	i	3
	I	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama	1
	L	áx	áx	áx	áx	áx	áx	áx	áx	áx	áx	1

4.2.2. ADJECTIVES.

The classification as to the categories of gender, animateness, number and case is basically the same as for nouns.

According to their function, adjectives may be divided into

a) attributive - mladé človjek, stará ženska, etc.

b) possessive - these are not used in the Morkovice dialect, and are replaced by the phrase involving the genitive of a noun, to which

possession is assigned: dum otca, klobók mami, etc.

As to their origin, adjectives can be divided into

i) primary (non-derived)

ii) derived - mainly from nouns, verbs and adverbs, with which adjectives have the common stem.

The most common process of derivation is by the following suffixes (the masculine forms are given):

-n'i - lesn'i, jarn'i, večern'i

-né - smutné, kamenné, jasné

-ské, -cké - mužské, bratrské, d'elnické, vesnické

-ové - ledové, olejové, vodové

-i - ribi, človječi (from človjek)

-eci - teleci, zvířeci, etc.

The addition of most suffixes involves a change in the stem consonant: When the stem ends in an appropriate consonant, the change "Č" occurs before -né, -n'i, -i:

rok - ročn'i d'ivka - d'ivči ovca - ovči

kn'iha - kn'ižn'i pixa - pišné

Change "Ř" occurs only before -i:

vidra - vidři netopir - netopiři

Suffix -ské causes the "Č" change:

sódruh - sódružské Vlax - vlašské

Before -cké, /k, c/ are lost:

lovec - lovecké d'eln'ik - d'eln'ické

4.2.2.1. Gradation of adjectives. With respect to this process, every adjective in its basic form represents the positive degree.

The comparative degree is formed by suffixes:

a) -ěši which causes the changes "BJ", "D'" and "MN'":

blbé - blbjéši nové - novjéši kruté - krut'éši

d'ivné - d'ivn'éši přimé - přimn'éši

b) -ši which causes loss of the preceding /k, h, x/:

t'ixé - t'iši n'izké - n'izši dlóhé - delši (irregular)

c) -i which causes change "Č":

hezké - hezči

The superlative degree is formed by adding the prefix -né to the comparative degree:

néhezči, nénovjéši, néblbjéši, etc.

4.2.2.2. Declension of adjectives. Adjectival declension is to a large degree unified between masculine and neuter genders in sg., and among all genders in pl., and there is a similarity with the declension of demonstrative pronouns.

A) Hard paradigm.

Gender		Masculine		Neuter	Feminine
		Animate	Inanimate	--	--
Number/case					
Sg.	N	mlad-é	mlad-é	mlad-i	mlad-á
	A	mlad-iho	mlad-é	mlad-i	mlad-ó
	G		mlad-iho		mlad-é
	D		mlad-imu		mlad-é
	V		mlad-é	mlad-i	mlad-á
	I		mlad-im		mlad-ó
	L		mlad-im		mlad-é

Gender		Masculine		Neuter	Feminine
		Animate	Inanimate	--	--
Number/case					
Pl.	N	mlad'-i	mlad-i	mlad-i	mlad-i
	A		mlad-i		
	G		mlad-éx		
	D		mlad-ém		
	V	mlad'-i	mlad-i		
	I		mlad-éma		
	L		mlad-éx		

Comments:

1) As in the declension of nouns, A sg. of masculine animate adjectives equals G sg.; A sg. of inanimate and neuter adjectives equals N sg.

2) In N and V pl., masculine animate adjectives undergo changes "D'", "C" and "Ř": staré muž - staři muži
hezké muž - hezci muži
suxé muž - suši muži

3) V sg. of neuter adjectives and V pl. of masculine animate adjectives differ from the unified pattern (underlined).

B) Soft paradigm.

Gender		Masculine		Neuter	Feminine
		Animate	Inanimate	--	--
Number/Case					
Sg.	N	jarn'-i	jarn'-i	jarn'-i	jarn'-i
	A	jarn'-iho	jarn'-i	jarn'-i	jarn'-i
	G		jarn'-iho		jarn'-i
	D		jarn'-imu		jarn'-i
	V		jarn'-i		jarn'-i
	I		jarn'-im		jarn'-i
Pl.	N	jarn'-i	jarn'-i	jarn'-i	jarn'-i
	A		jarn'-i		
	G		jarn'-ix		
	D		jarn'-im		
	V		jarn'-i		
	I		jarn'-ima		
	L		jarn'-ix		

Comments:

1) Soft feminine sg. adjectives demonstrate a complete lack of declension.

2) All adjectives which have ending -i in N sg. of all genders are declined according to the soft paradigm:

e.g.: ribi, cizi, husi, kozi, etc.

4.2.3. PRONOUNS.

With respect to meaning, we can distinguish the following

pronouns in the Morkovice dialect:

a) personal pronouns

b) reflexive pronoun

c) demonstrative pronouns

d) interrogative pronouns

e) relative pronouns

f) indefinite pronouns

g) negative pronouns

4.2.3.1. Personal pronouns and reflexive pronoun. Personal pronouns are distinguished according to person and number; in third person sg. the gender of the noun to which the pronoun refers is marked:

Sg.	1.	já	Pl.	1.	mi
	2.	ti		2.	vi
	3.	on (masc.) ona (fem.) ono (neut.)		3.	on'i

The reflexive pronoun expresses the mutual relationship between the person (agent) which is also the object (receiver) of the action described by verbs. It has an identical form for all persons and numbers; it has no nominative form.

Each of the pronouns has its own declensional paradigm and the pronouns of second and third person sg., third person pl., as well as the reflexive pronoun, have long (full) and short (enclitic) forms in certain cases.

PRONOMINAL PARADIGMS:

Pronoun:		já	ti	on, ono	ona	reflexive
Number/Case						
Sg.	N	já	ti	on, ono	ona	N/A
	A	mn'e	tebe, t'e	n'eho, ho	ju, n'u	sebe, se
	G	mn'e	tebe, t'e	n'eho, ho	ji, n'i	sebe
	D	mn'e	tobje, t'i	n'emu, mu	ji, n'i	sobje, si
	V	--	ti	--	--	--
	I	mnó	tebó	n'im	n'ó	sebó
	L	mn'e	tobje	n'im	n'i	sobje
Pl.	N	mi	vi	on'i		--
	A	nás	vás	ix, n'ix		
	G	nás	vás	ix, n'ix		
	D	nám	vám	im, n'im		
	V	--	vi	--		
	I	nama	vama	n'ima (n'ema)		
	L	nás	vás	n'ix		

Comments:

1) The full forms are used in emphasis and after prepositions:

e.g.: tebe sem tam nevid'el, k tobje nepřišel

2) The forms with prothetic n'- are used after prepositions:

d'ivám se na n'u but: vid'im ju

idu k n'im but: dám im to, etc.

4.2.3.2. Possessive pronouns. Each person except third pl. and sg. has distinct possessive pronouns according to the gender of the

noun whose possession is being determined. In third person sg., the gender of the possessor, not of the thing possessed, is differentiated; in third person plural, the pronoun has only one form regardless of the gender of the possessor or of the possessed object.

First and second persons masc. and fem. in singular and plural also distinguish between possession of one or more objects or persons:

Number	Person	Gender				
		Masculine		Feminine		Neuter
		One:	More:	One:	More:	
Sg.	1.	muj	moji	moja	moje	moje
	2.	tvuj	tvoji	tvoja	tvoje	tvoje
	3.	jeho		jeji		jeho
Pl.	1.	náš	naši	naša	naše	naše
	2.	váš	vaši	vaša	vaše	vaše
	3.	——————→		ix	←——————	

Thus:*

muj muž; moji muži	but:	jeji muž; jeji muži	if reference is made to a woman
moja žena; moje ženi		jeji cera; jeji ceri	
moje d'ecko; moje d'ecka		jeji d'ecko; jeji d'ecka	
náš muž; naši muži	but:	jeho sin; jeho sin'i	if reference is made to a man
naša žena; naše ženi		jeho žena; jeho ženi	
naše d'ecko; naše d'ecka		jeho d'ecko; jeho d'ecka	

The possessive pronouns jeho and ix are indeclinable, but jeji is fully

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*These examples are applicable to the pronouns of the second person sg. and plural as well.

declined if it expresses possession of an object or person of masculine and neuter genders and when plural possession of any gender is expressed; otherwise, it is indeclinable as well. Thus, in the expression jeji cera only the noun cera is declined;* in the expressions jeji muž, jeji d'ecko and jeji ceri, both components are declined, i.e., jeji behaves like the adjective jarn'i.

Declension of possessive pronouns:

PARADIGMS:

		Gender		
Number/Case		Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Sg.	N	muj	moje	moja
	A	muj, mojiho (anim.)	moje	moju
	G	mojiho		mojé
	D	mojimu		mojé
	V	muj	moje	moja
	I	mojim		mojó
	L	mojim		mojé
Pl.	N	moji	moje	moje
	A		moje	
	G		mojéx	
	D		mojém	
	V	moji	moje	
	I		mojema	
	L		mojéx	

*Instrumental sg. sometimes has ending -ó: bil sem tam s jeji ceró; bil sem tam s jejó ceró.

All remaining possessive pronouns are declined like the above paradigms with respect to the appropriate gender. Only jeji, when declined, remains jeji in N, A, V sg., and throughout the plural it preserves -i in the ending:

N pl.: jeji muži, ceri, d'ecka

G pl.: jejix mužu, cer, d'ecek

D pl.: jejim mužom, cerám, d'eckám, etc.

(i.e., it is declined like a soft feminine adjective in the plural).

4.2.3.3. Demonstrative pronouns.

Masculine	sg.	ten		
Feminine	sg.	tá	} pl.	ti
Neuter	sg.	to		

The demonstrative pronouns ten and to are declined like muj with these exceptions:

G sg. of both ten and to is teho

D sg. of both ten and to is temu

Ta is declined exactly like moja.

The plural form ti has the same form for all genders, and it is a peculiar phenomenon that t↛t' (i.e., lack of change "D'") in N pl., unlike in Standard Czech when reference is made to animate masculine plural nouns: ti mlad'i pan'i.*

The demonstrative pronouns tento, táto, toto, tito express the proximity of an object and are declined like ten, ta, to; the suffix -to

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*This may be attributed to the influence of colloquial Czech, where this phenomenon applies not only to pronouns, but also to adjectives--cf. ti mladí pánové.

is added to each appropriate form: vid'im tehoto xlapa

vid'im tuto ženu

The pronouns takové, taková, takovi express a certain evaluation and are associated with nouns or adjectives:

e.g.: takové mladé xlap

taková otázka

These are declined like hard adjectives.

4.2.3.4. Interrogative and relative pronouns. With respect to the object of inquiry, interrogative pronouns can be divided into several groups:

a) inquiring about a person: kdo; about a thing: co

b) inquiring about some quality: jaké (masculine), jaká (feminine), jaki (neuter and plural of all genders)

c) inquiring about a closer definition: keré (masculine), kerá (feminine), keri (neuter and plural of all genders)*

d) inquiring about possession: čí (all genders and numbers)

The pronouns kdo, co have a special declension and refer only to singular:

Case:			
	N	kdo	co
	A	keho	co
	G	keho	čeho
	D	kemu	čemu
	I	kem (kim)	čem (čim)
	L	kem (kim)	čem (čim)

*In the nom. plural, when keri refers to masculine animate nouns, keři (on the basis of change "Ř") is expected, but like change "D'" in ti, it is also absent here.

The alternate forms for I, L are freely interchangeable, but the forms with -e- are more common.

The pronoun či behaves like jeji, i.e., it is indeclinable when the possessor of a feminine object is sought: či kn'ižka

G či kn'ižki

D či kn'ižce, etc.

When it refers to a masculine, neuter object, či is declined like muj. When či refers to plural objects, it is declined like the plural of soft adjectives, but may also be declined like mojė in the plural except for N, A; in such cases, long -é- appears:

N pl. či nože

G pl. čéx nožu

L pl. čéx nožáx, etc.

However, the usage of both above forms and of či in general is very rare, and in analogy to the construction used for possessive adjectives, the genitive case of the pronoun kdo is used:

e.g.: s keho bratrem tam bils? (in place of: s či bratrem . . .)

o keho žen'e mluvijó? (in place of: o či žen'e . . .)

All of the above pronouns can assume the function of a relative pronoun:

ten xlap, keriho sem vid'el

bila tam ženská jakó sem ešče v život'e nevid'el, etc.

4.2.3.5. Indefinite and negative pronouns. Indefinite pronouns are formed by adding the prefixes ne-, kde-, lec-, leda- or the words buhvi-, málo-, etc., to the interrogative pronouns:

leckdo, buhvico, kdeco, málokeré, kdejaké, etc.

Another alternative is adding a suffix -si, which gives the pronouns a slight definite meaning:

kdosi, jakési, kerási, cosi, etc.

In both instances, such derived forms are declined like the original interrogative pronouns: N: kdosi

G, A: kehosi

D: kemusi, etc.

The pronouns každé, každá, každi, všecko, všeci (M), všecki (fem., neut.), sám, sama, samo, sami also belong to this group. These are declined like the appropriate hard adjective mladé (except for certain N, A sg.).

Negative pronouns are formed by adding a prefix n'i- to the interrogative pronouns:

e.g.: n'ikdo, n'ijaké, n'iči, etc.

The pronoun co drops -o: n'ic. These pronouns are declined like the original interrogative pronouns.

The pronoun žádné (masculine), -á (feminine), -i (neuter and plural) also belongs to this group. It is declined like mladé.

4.2.4. NUMERALS.

4.2.4.1. Cardinal numerals.

Numeral 1: N sg. masculine - jeden

N sg. feminine - jedna

N sg. neuter - jedno

N pl. - jedn'i (masculine animate)

- jedni (other genders)

This is the only numeral that distinguishes all the genders of the counted object; it is declined like the adjectival paradigm mladé.

This numeral is often used in place of the indefinite article:

vid'el sem jedniho xlapa a ten mn'e povidal

jedn'i xlapi mn'e povidali

Numeral 2: masculine - dva neuter, feminine - dvje

Gender distinctions are absent in all cases except N, A (2 has only plural number). Numeral 2 (as well as 3 and 4) governs N plural of a counted noun: dva xlapi

dvje ženi, mista, etc.

This numeral has a peculiar declension:

Gender/Case	Masculine	Feminine, Neuter
N	dva	dvje
A	dva	dvje
G	dvóx	
D	dvóm	
I	dvóma	
L	dvóx	

Numerals 3 and 4: tři - štyři (all genders)

Beginning with these cardinal numerals, no gender distinctions are made in all remaining numerals and their compounds (and also composite numbers with 1 and 2) lack gender distinction:

e.g.: 21 - dvacet jedna mužu,

dvacet jedna žen, dvacet jedna mist.

These numerals are declined like the plural of the adjectival paradigm mladé, but they have a short -e- in all endings:

e.g.: tři xlapi

třex xlapu (cf. mladéx xlapu)

Numerals 5 - 100: pjet, šest, sedm, osm, devjet, deset, etc.

Beginning with pjet, all numerals (and compounds) govern the genitive pl. of the appropriate noun: šest xlapu

jedenást žen, etc.

In oblique cases, except the instrumental case, all numerals and also compounds that do not contain 1, 2, 3, 4, have the ending -i which causes t⟶t'. In the instrumental case the ending is -ima. In compound numbers, all but the last part of the compound may retain ending -i even in the instrumental case; i.e., at least the nominal attribute must have the I pl. ending:

bil sem tam s dvacet'i šest'ima xlapama

or: dvacet'i šest'i xlapama

but also: bil sem tam s dvacet'ima šest'ima xlapama

If the last segment of a compound number are numerals 2, 3, 4, their declensional paradigm is preserved:

bil sem tam s dvacet'i(ma) dvóma xlapama

bil sem tam s dvacet'i(ma) štiřema xlapama

The final segment jedna (unlike in the standard language, only this gender is used) in composite numbers is not declined, but non-final segments may have the ending -i in oblique cases:

bilo tam dvacet jedna xlapu - nominative

bil sem tam s dvacet(i) jedna xlapama - instrumental

Numeral 100: sto

Declension of this numeral follows the paradigm misto (hard type neuter noun). However, there are some idiosyncratic phenomena associated with this numeral, when a counted object follows:

a) sto remains undeclined in all oblique cases and only the counted noun is declined: N, A, G: sto mužu

D: sto mužom

I: sto mužama

L: sto mužáx

b) when the plural (2, 3, 4) of sto is used, pattern a) may be followed--i.e., the expression involving number is not declined and the counted noun is:

e.g.: N, A, G: dvje sta žen

D: dvje sta ženám

I: dvje sta ženama

L: dvje sta ženáx;

or the numerical part is declined and the counted noun remains in the genitive plural:

e.g.: N, A: dvje sta xlapu

G: dvóx set xlapu

D: dvóm stám xlapu, etc.

When 5 - 9 is associated with sto, the genitive plural is used: pjet set, šest set, sedm set, etc.

The numerals t'isic and milión are declined according to the soft and hard masculine nominal paradigms respectively.

4.2.4.2. Ordinal numerals. Prvn'i - '1st', and třet'i - '3rd', have only one form for all genders in N sg. and are declined according to the soft adjectival paradigm jarn'i with respect to the gender of the counted object.

e.g.: N: prvn'i misto N: třet'i řada

G: prvn'iho mista, etc. I: třet'i řadó, etc.

All remaining ordinal numerals have the form of hard adjectives and are declined according to the appropriate form of mladé:

e.g.: druhá řada, štvrté xlap, páti misto, etc.

4.2.5. VERBS.

Verbs are maximally composed of the following elements:*

a) prefix(es)

b) radical (root or root and root suffix)

c) base-suffix(es)

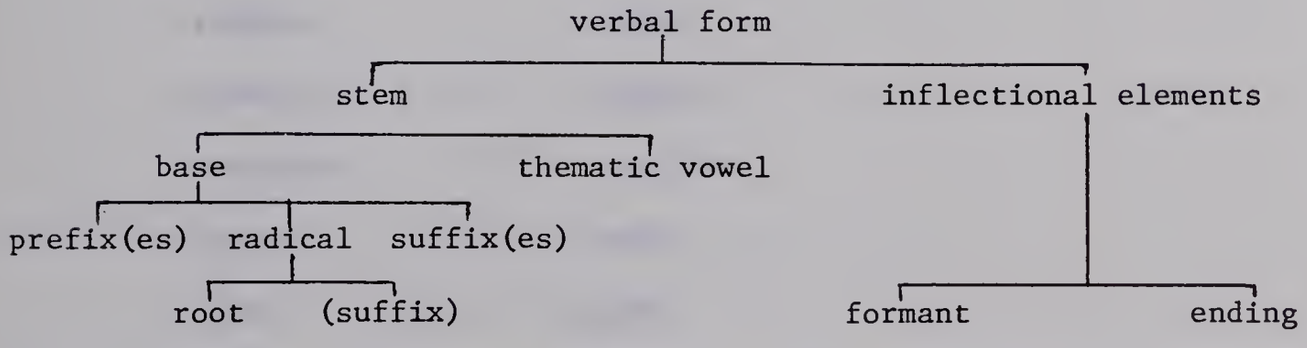
d) thematic vowel

e) formant

f) ending

The majority of verbs contain less elements than the ones given above. Nevertheless, the constituents that are present in each verb are at least a root, a thematic vowel, and an ending. The structural composition of verbs may be demonstrated by the following scheme:

TABLE 6.



For example:

ob	- hospoda	- ař	- ov	- a	-	l	-	i
pře	- mišl	-		á	-		-	š
u	- vid'	-		e	-	l	-	a

*This classification and the diagram are based on those implemented by Charles E. Bidwell (21).

Each individual element in the above examples represents an independent morpheme.

With respect to the origin of verbs within the language, we can distinguish:

a) primary verbs - e.g., jit, mn'et, vid'et

b) derived verbs - i) from other verbs (deverbatives)
e.g., ut'ikat (from utict)

ii) from nouns
e.g., pracovat (from práca)

iii) from adjectives
e.g., bjelit (from bilé)

The process of derivation often results in various vocalic and consonantal alternations:

sázet	-	zasad'it
kópit	-	kupovat
vinášet	-	vinist
oplácet	-	oplat'it
ohrazovat	-	ohrad'it
usinat	-	usnót
hébat	-	hnót

Each verb is marked by some or all of the following categories: aspect, voice, form (finite and non-finite), person and number, tense, mood, conjugational class and paradigm.

4.2.5.1. Aspect. With respect to aspect, verbs may be divided into:

a) imperfective verbs - primary - e.g., psat, nist, jit, brat

- secondary - derived from perfectivized verbs by adding a base-suffix - e.g., zapsat (pf.) - zapisovat (sec. impf.)

b) perfective verbs*

Only a small number of verbs are inherently perfective: e.g., kópit, dat, etc.

New perfectives are usually formed from imperfectives by means of perfectivizing prefixes or suffixes: d'elat (impf.) - ud'elat (pf.)

sed'et (impf.) - sednót (pf.)

Prefixes added to the inherently perfective verbs usually do not alter aspect: e.g., dat (pf.) - prodat (pf.)

kópit (pf.) - nakópit (pf.)

However, such prefixes often change the meaning of the original verb.**

Prefixes added to the inherently imperfective verbs change both the aspect and the meaning:** e.g., nist (impf.) - přinist (pf.)

it (impf.) - přiit (pf.)

brat (impf.) - vibrat (pf.)

The majority of verbs in the Morkovice dialect are paired with respect to aspect. A few verbs are ambiguous with regard to aspect and may function either as perfectives or imperfectives:

vjenovat, stačit, objetovat, etc.

The modal (auxiliary) verbs are all imperfective:

mn'et, xt'et, bit

A group of verbs, such as dokázat, zaslexnót, dobjehnót, etc., are all exclusively perfective.

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*Further subclassification of aspect is not considered.

**See the glossary in the Appendix.

4.2.5.2. Voice, reflexive forms and reflexive verbs. Voice expresses the relation between the action described by the verb and the subject of a sentence. If the action is performed by the subject (i.e., the subject is the agent), the verb is active as to voice:* e.g., xlap sije pšenicu.

If the subject is not the agent, the voice of the verb is passive:*

a) pšen'ica se sije na jaře

b) pšen'ica bila zasitá na jaře

a) is formed by reflexive pronoun + verb in third person sg.

b) is formed by copula (form of the verb bit) + passive participle.

The active voice with indefinite subject is preferred to the passive in general in the Morkovice dialect: e.g., zaseli pšen'icu; furthermore, the form b) of the passive voice is very rare.

When the subject of a sentence is an animate noun (or pronoun referring to an animate noun) and a construction with reflexive pronoun is used, we speak of a reflexive form of the verb:

e.g.: xlap se češe

This form indicates that the agent is simultaneously the receiver of the action described by the verb. The reflexive pronoun se replaces the direct object in the above example; if a reflexive pronoun replaces the indirect object, its form is si (or if emphatic, sobje):

e.g.: xlap češe vlasi sobje

xlap si češe vlasi

If a reflexive form of a verb has a lexical meaning of its own

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*See Jedlička (17), pp. 230-31.

(i.e., non-reflexive and reflexive forms are semantically differentiated), we speak of a reflexive verb:

e.g.: držet se, přiznat se, učit se, st'ežovat si

Some verbs are only reflexive (reflexiva tantum):

e.g.: smát se, ptat se

4.2.5.3. Finite and non-finite forms. When verbs are in a non-finite form, certain categories (see p. 84) cannot be assessed. In the Morkovice dialect, the only non-finite forms are infinitives - e.g., krast; and passive participles - ukradené (these have forms of hard adjectives).

Gerunds represent another non-finite verbal form, but they are never used in the Morkovice dialect except for some rare expressions:

nepřeja mu n'ic zliho, rači sem n'ic neřikal

The finite form of a verb can be characterized with respect to all remaining categories; the form itself may be:

i) simple - e.g., pracuju

ii) compound - e.g., budu pracovat--such forms consist of a verb + various forms of the auxiliary bit.*

4.2.5.4. Person and number. This property of verbs is conveyed by the ending in simple forms and by the auxiliary bit in compound forms.

e.g.: pracuj-eš - 2nd person sg., bud-eš pracovat - 2nd person sg. There are three persons and two numbers (see section 4.2.3.1.).

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*Reflexive forms and reflexive verbs may also be included among compound forms.

The second person plural is used also as a polite form of address (however, past participles remain in the singular):

e.g.: vi ste bil, vi umite

The third person sg. with or without a reflexive pronoun is also used as an impersonal expression:

e.g.: prší

řiká se, že se bude žen'it

The third person plural present or past is used when the subject is indefinite:

e.g.: řikajó (řikali), že se bude žen'it

4.2.5.5. Tense. There are basically three tenses in the Morkovice dialect:

a) present - expressed by simple verbs (with or without se, si)

b) future - i) compound - this formation is applicable to all imperfective verbs; it consists of an appropriate form of bit + infinitive:

e.g.: budu pracovat, budó pracovat

ii) simple (perfective future) - only perfective verbs form this tense which is basically the form of the present:

e.g.: dám, kópijó

c) past - varies as to the formation; first and second person sg. and pl. is composed of a form of bit + past participle, third person sg. and pl. is formed by the past participle alone; two varieties are possible:

Sg. 1. já sem pracoval or: pracovalsem (non-emphatic)

2. tis pracoval or: pracovals:

3. on pracoval, ona pracovala, ono pracovalo

Pl. 1. mi zme pracovali or: pracovalizme

2. vi ste pracovali or: pracovaliste

3. on'i pracovali

If reflexive pronouns, or the conjunctions že, kdy, kde stand after or before the past participle, the enclitic forms of bit are attached to them: ti sis četl, or četl sis

je dobře, žes prišel

nevim, kdeste bili

4.2.5.6. Mood. A verb may express the following moods: (a) indicative; (b) imperative; (c) conditional.

Every present, past or future form of a verb expresses the indicative mood.

The imperative mood has special endings and is used for second person sg., and first and second person plural. Other persons have a suppletive imperative formed by the particle at' + verb with present endings.

Examples: 2nd person sg. piš

1st person pl. pišme

2nd person pl. pište

3rd person pl. at' pišó

The very emphatic imperative is expressed by the infinitive:

(a) psat! (a) nemluvit!

In the Morkovice dialect, only the present conditional is used; it is composed of special forms of bit which stand either proclitically

(in emphasis) or enclitically with the past participle of a verb:

Sg.	1.	já bix řekl	or:	řekl bix
	2.	ti bis řekl	or:	řekl bis
	3.	on bi řekl	or:	řekl bi
Pl.	1.	mi bizme řekli	or:	řekli bizme
	2.	vi biste řekli	or:	řekli biste
	3.	on'i bi řekli	or:	řekli bi

The form of bit merges with the conjunctions abi, kdibi:

řekl, abix šel

kdibis jenom vjed'el!

As a residue of the past perfect conditional, there are a few expressions used only idiomatically:

kdibis mn'e bévala bila poslexla, nebilo bi se to

bévalo stalo - but also: -kdibis mn'e poslexla, nestalo bi se to

4.2.5.7. Verb classes and conjugation. According to the nature of the thematic vowel attached to the stem, there are three basic groups of verbs:

1) with the thematic vowel -e-

2) with the thematic vowel -i-

3) with the thematic vowel -a-

However, the thematic vowel -e- may be attached to the radical or preceded by a radical suffix -j- or -n-; consequently, there are five verbal classes according to the ending of the third person sg.:

I. -e

II. -ne

III. -je

IV. -i

V. -a

Moreover, each verb has two stems: present stem and infinitive (past) stem. These stems may be identical or may reflect certain consonantal or vocalic alternations. Individual stems may serve as a basis for the formation of various verbal forms. The alternations between individual present and infinitive stems are a criterion for the further subclassification of verbs. For example, within class I., two different paradigms emerge: a) the hard paradigm - the radical consonant before the inflectional element does not alternate in either stem:

e.g.: nis- (past stem) - nes- (present stem)

b) the soft paradigm - the radical consonant in the present stem undergoes the change "C-Č":

e.g.: maz- (past stem) - maž- (present stem)

ps-a- (past stem) - piš- (present stem), etc.

In class IV., distinction can be made between:

a) i-paradigm - thematic vowel -i- is present in both stems:

e.g.: pros-i-, čist'-i-, etc.

b) i ~ e paradigm - thematic vowel -i- alternates with -e- in the past stem:

e.g.: sáz-i- (present stem) vs. sáz-e- (past stem), or -i- alternates with -je- (consequence of "BJ" change):

e.g.: trp-i- (present stem) - trp-je- (past stem)

With respect to radical suffixes, classes I., II., III., are further subdivided into groups:

i) with radical suffixes in the past stem:

e.g.: ber- (present) - br-a- (past)

maž- (present) - maz-a- (past), etc.

ii) without radical suffixes:

e.g.: nes- - nis-, etc.

CLASS I:

This class comprises all verbs with the ending -e in third person singular: e.g., nese, pere, peče, piše.

A. Hard paradigm

Sg.	1.	nes - u	Pl.	1.	nes - em
	2.	nes - eš		2.	nes - ete
	3.	nes - e		3.	nes - ó

All forms except the infinitive are based on the present stem:

Infinitive: past stem + -t: nist, vizt, lizt, etc.

Imperative: present stem + Ø for 2nd person sg.: e.g., nes!

present stem + -me for 1st person pl.: e.g., nesme!

present stem + -te for 2nd person pl.: e.g., neste!

Past Participle: present stem + l for masc. sg.: e.g., lezl

present stem + la for fem. sg.: e.g., lezla

present stem + lo for neut. sg.: e.g., lezlo

present stem + li for plural of all genders

Passive Participle: present stem + e + né for masc. sg.: e.g., nesené

present stem + e + ná for fem. sg.: e.g., nesená

present stem + e + ni for neut. sg.: e.g., neseni

present stem + e + n'i for masc. anim. pl.: e.g., nesen'i

present stem + e + ni for other plural: e.g., neseni

For a separate group of verbs of this class, formants for the past and passive participles are added to the infinitive stem:

e.g.: ber- (present stem) bra- (past stem)

- bral, -la, -lo, -li

- brané, -ná, -ni, -n'i

This group includes the verbs prat, kópat, etc.

B. Soft paradigm

The endings are the same, but the final radical consonant undergoes changes "Č" and "C-Č" in the present stem.

e.g.: psat - piše plakat - plače

mazat - maže lhat - lže

The imperative is formed from the present stem as for the hard paradigms, but -i is added to non-syllabic stems:

e.g.: lži - lžime - lžite

All remaining forms are based on the past stem (psa-, maza-, lha-).

CLASS II:

The basic paradigm is conjugated according to the endings of Class I, but the endings are preceded by the radical suffix -n:

e.g.: t'iskn**u**, t'iskn**e**š, t'iskn**e**, etc.

All forms are based on the present stem, but the following phenomena occur:

Infinitive has the ending -ót - t'isknót

Imperative has the formant -i before which change "D'" applies:

e.g.: t'iskn'i, t'iskn'ime, t'iskn'ite

Past Participles drop the radical suffix -n-:

e.g.: t'iskl, -la, -lo, -li

Passive Participles add a radical suffix -u- plus:

-té	for masc. sg.:	e.g.: t'isknuté
-tá	for fem. sg.:	e.g.: t'isknutá
-ti	for neut. sg.:	e.g.: t'isknuti
-t'i	for masc. anim. pl.:	e.g.: t'isknut'i
-ti	for other plurals:	e.g.: t'isknuti

A separate group of verbs of this class--e.g., zapomenót--forms certain forms differently:

The imperative does not have the formant -i, but the change "D'" still occurs: e.g.: zapomen', zapomen'me, -te

The past participle is irregular--e.g., zapomn'el, -la, etc.

The verb vzit--present stem vezn- --is completely irregular:

Imperative: vezn'i or: vem

Past Part.: vzal, -la, etc.

Pass. Part.: vzité, vzitá, etc.

CLASS III:

Verbs of this class are characterized by the radical suffix -j- before the thematic vowel -e-. There are two basic paradigms:

A. Paradigm with bare vocalic radical before -je:

e.g.: kri-je, ži-je

B. Paradigm with radical suffix -u- before -je:

e.g.: kup-u-je

For both paradigms, the conjugational endings are the same as for the previous classes.

Paradigm A. has all forms based on the present stem which is identical with the inf. stem. There are the following characteristics:

The imperative retains the radical suffix -j-: e.g., krij, -me, -te

The passive participle has the formant -t-: e.g., krité, -tá, etc.

Other forms are regular.

Paradigm B. has an infinitive stem different from the present stem: e.g., kupova-, litova-.

The imperative is formed like in Paradigm A.: e.g., kupuj, -me, etc.

All remaining forms are based on the infinitive stem:

Past participle: kupoval, -la, -lo, -li

Passive participle: kupované, -ná, -ni, etc.

Infinitive: kupovat, litovat

CLASS IV:

The endings for the verbs of this class, which is characterized by the vowel -i in the third person sg., differ from the endings of previously discussed classes:

Basic paradigm:

Sg.	1.	pros - im	Pl.	1.	pros - ime
	2.	pros - iš		2.	pros - ite
	3.	pros - i		3.	pros - ijó

Verbs which belong to the basic paradigm have identical present and infinitive stems; the individual forms are formed as follows:

Infinitive: stem + t: e.g., prosit

Imperative: stem + ending: e.g., pros, prosme, proste

but: stem + i + ending when certain clusters occur:

e.g.: misli, mislime, mislite

Past Participle: stem + i + -l, -la, etc.: e.g., prosil, -la

Passive Participle: stem + e + né, -ná, etc.; change "C-Č" occurs: e.g., prošené, -ná (from prosi-); uražené, -ná (from urazi-), etc.

Two separate subgroups of this class differ basically in the following points:

A. Subgroup i ~ e has different present and infinitive stems: e.g., háze- (infinitive stem) - házi- (present stem).

All forms except the present tense are based on the infinitive stem:

Infinitive: házet

Imperative: preserves the -e which becomes lengthened:

házé, házéme, házéte

Past Participle: házel, -la, etc.

Passive Participle: házené, házená, etc.

The change "C-Č" does not take place in this group.

B. Subgroup i ~ je includes verbs which contain radical consonants that are subject to change "BJ": e.g., trpi- (present stem) - trpje- (inf. stem); and also verbs in which the radical consonant undergoes change "MN'": e.g., hřmi- (present stem) - hřmn'e- (infinitive stem).

Infinitive: trpjet, hřmn'et

Imperative: trp,-te, -me, but: hřmn'é, hřmn'éme, hřmn'éte

or: hřmi, hřmime, hřmite

Past Participle: hřmn'el, -la, etc., trpjel, -la, etc.

Passive Participle: hřmn'ené, -ná, etc., trpjené, -ná, etc.

CLASS V:

The basic paradigm has identical present and infinitive stems and is characterized by the vowel -a in the third person sg. This class has personal endings which are distinct from those of the previous classes:

Sg.	1.	d'el - ám	Pl.	1.	d'el - áme
	2.	d'el - áš		2.	d'el - áte
	3.	d'el - á		3.	d'el - ajó

Infinitive: d'elat

Imperative: d'elé, d'eléme, d'eléte

Past Participle: d'elal, -la, -lo, -li

Passive Participle: d'elané, -ná, -ni, etc.

Verbs which have a final radical consonant -b-, -p-, -m-, -v-, fluctuate between Class V. and Class I.:

hébat - hébu, hébeš, hébe, etc. or: hébám, hébáš, hébá, etc.

kévat - kévu, kéveš, kéve, etc. or: kévám, kéváš, kévá, etc.

kópat - kópu, kópeš, kópe, etc. or: kópám, kópáš, kópá, etc.

dřimat - dřimu, dřimeš, dřime, etc. or: dřimám, dřimáš, dřimá, etc.

However, all remaining forms are formed only according to Class V.:

hébat: hébé - hébal - hébané, etc.

kévat: kévé - kéval - kévané, etc.

Confusion may occur when these verbs contain the perfectivizing suffix -n- (and belong thus to Class II).

e.g.: kévnót, hébnót, zdřimnót (all perfective)

The past participle differs from the imperfective forms only marginally in that -a- is deleted:

pf. kévl, kévla, etc. cf. impf. kéval, kévala, etc.

pf. hébl, hébla, etc. cf. impf. hébal, hébala, etc.

4.2.5.8. Athematic (irregular) verbs. Verbs in this group have a peculiar conjugation and some or all of their categories are formed differently from any other verb class.

1. bit

Present tense:	Sg.	1.	su	Pl.	1.	zme	Future tense:	Sg.	1.	budu	Pl.	1. budem
		2.	si		2.	ste			2.	budeš		2. budete
		3.	je		3.	só			3.	bude		3. budó
Past tense:	Sg.	1.	bilsem	Pl.	1.	bilizme	Conditional:	Sg.	1.	bix	Pl.	1. bizme
		2.	bils		2.	biliste			2.	bis		2. biste
		3.	bil		3.	bili			3.	bi		3. bi

Imperative: bud', -me, -te or: bid', -me, -te

No other forms exist for this verb.

2. jest, vjed'et

Present tense:	Sg.	1.	jim, vim	Pl.	1.	jime, vime
		2.	jiš, viš		2.	jite, vite
		3.	ji, vi		3.	jijó, vijó

Imperative: jez, -te, -me; no imperative form is used for vjed'et; it is replaced by the construction: at' vi, at' vime, at' vite.

Past Participle: jedla, -la, etc., vjed'el, -la, etc.

Passive Participle: jezené, -ná, etc.; no form for vjed'et

3. xt'et

Present tense: Sg. 1. xcu pl. 1. xcem
2. xceš 2. xcete
3. xce 3. xcó

Imperative: xt'é, xt'éme, xt'éte

Past Participle: xt'el, -la, -lo, -li

Passive Participle: xcené, xcená, xceni, etc. (rarely used)

TABLE 7. Schematic table of personal endings.

Number	Person	Class I - III	Class IV	Class V
Sg.	1.	-u	-im	-ám
	2.	-eš	-iš	-áš
	3.	-e	-i	-á
Pl.	1.	-em	-ime	-áme
	2.	-ete	-ite	-áte
	3.	-ó	-ijó	-ajó

4.2.6. ADVERBS.

The principal division of adverbs may be based on similarity with other word classes with which they share the stem:

a) adjectival adverbs - visoko (from visoké)
temno (from temné)
postaru (from staré)

b) pronominal - tam, tehdá, tak (from ten)
kde, kdi

c) verbal - plački (from plakat)

ležmo (from ležet)

potajmu (from tajit)

d) nominal - usually a preposition + arrested form of a noun:

e.g.: nahlas, doslova, zpamn'et'i (these must be distinguished from a noun preceded by a preposition: na hlase, o pamn'et'i, bez slova, etc.).

e) combined - milerád (from milé + nominal form of adjective rád)

d'ikibohu (from d'iki + buh)

f) idiomatic - xca nexca (from xt'et, next'et)

Adverbs expressing a certain quality or degree of characteristic may be gradated:

e.g.: positive - dobře, visoko, zdravje

comparative - lip (irr.), viš (irr.), zdravj-éc (regular and most common way of formation)

superlative - all gradated adverbs add the prefix né- to the comparative: nélip, néviš, nézdravjéc

Example of other irregular gradations:

draho - dráž - nédráž; málo - min' - némin'

zle - huř - néǵuř; dlóho - dil - nédil

4.2.7. PREPOSITIONS.

With respect to their sentential function, prepositions may be divided into:

a) primary - function only as prepositions or prefixes

e.g.: u, do, na, s, pod, bez, etc.

b) secondary - have their origin in other word classes and may

function also as adverbs or nouns

e.g.: kolem, blizko, misto, etc.

Apart from non-syllabic prepositions, syllabic prepositions may also be vocalized, i.e., -e is added. (All one-letter prepositions can have a form with -e; e.g.: v - ve, s - se, z - ze.)

e.g.: ode mn'e, pode mnó, etc.

Each preposition governs certain case(s); as a rule, the secondary prepositions govern the genitive case:

okolo lesa, vedle školi, misto n'eho

but: skrzevá governs accusative: skrzevá les,

kvuli governs dative: kvuli tobje, kvuli temu

Case government of the primary prepositions is as follows:

Genitive is governed by: bez, do, od, u, z

Dative is governed by: k, prot'i

Accusative is governed by: pro, přeš

Locative is governed by: při

Instrumental is governed by: s

Certain prepositions govern two cases:

na, po, v, o - govern accusative and locative cases

nad, pod, před, za - govern accusative and instrumental cases

4.2.8. CONJUNCTIONS AND PARTICLES.

With respect to their syntactic function, conjunctions may be divided into:

a) coordinative - a, aji, ale, nebo, an'i

b) subordinative - protože, abi, kdibi, kdiž, etc.

Particles fulfill an auxiliary semantic function; most common

is the negative particle ne- which is used to negate any form of verb: e.g., nepsat, nepišu, nepiš! nepsal, nepsané, etc. When used with interrogative pronouns, this particle causes them to become indefinite: nekdo, neco (see section 4.2.3.5.).

Particle n'i- fulfils the function of negation when attached to pronouns or pronominal adverbs: n'ikdo, n'ikdy; but ne- is used with other adverbs and adjectives in which negation has slightly different meaning than the positive pair of semantic oppositions: e.g., nezdravje, comparative: nezdravjéc; superl.: nénezdravjéc (distinguished from the pair zdravje-nemocn'e); nepjekné; comparative: nepjekn'éši; superlative: nénepjekn'éši (distinguished from the pair of opposites pjekn'e-škared'e).

Some particles express modal nuances; e.g., at' piše (form of imperative). Some conjunctions also appear in this function in an expression: e.g., ale prosimt'e! kdiž já nevim.

4.2.9. INTERJECTIONS.

Among the Czech dialects, the Morkovice dialect is particularly rich with respect to this category; interjections are often used in conversation or narration in place of verbal description of happenings. This adds to the vividness of this dialect:

> "Du tod'ka lesem a všecko 'prásk', 'škrn'k', 'řax', a naráz 'bác' - z čistajasna se zablesklo a zahřmn'elo, až mn'e v ušáx zalehlo."*

From onomatopeic interjections, new verbs are also formed:

praskat, xextat se, drnčet, hafat, etc.

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*This is taken from the narration of a 68-year-old woman.

There are many interjections that serve as a form of address or command to domestic animals and poultry:

kšš, prr, hot, napipipi nanana, etc.

Many idiomatic expressions involving other word classes may also serve as interjections:

hrome! (noun), pod'ivé se (verb), etc.

There is a number of interjections of foreign origin; these are mainly of religious character:

sakra! krucinál! himlhergotkrucifiks, etc.

CHAPTER V

COMPARISON OF THE MORKOVICE DIALECT WITH STANDARD CZECH

5.0. The characteristic features of the Morkovice dialect (MD) are best apparent when a comparison is made with the Standard Czech language (SL). In this chapter, the major differences and digressions from the pattern of SL will be listed in the order in which the description of the dialect has been presented in previous chapters. In certain instances, differences are based on more or less regular alternations (or correspondences) of the SL forms. In such cases, the appropriate forms of MD can be obtained from the forms of SL by applying rules which reflect the most common alternations. Where it is justified by the frequency of occurrence, such rules will be posited and labeled "correspondence" rules.

5.1. Fundamental differences in the phonological system.

5.1.1. VOWELS.

The major difference with respect to the vowel system is the MD 'asymmetric' system of short and long vowels; there are eight vowel phonemes--five short, three long. SL has ten vowel phonemes--each short vowel has a corresponding long vowel.

In general, front vowels in the Morkovice dialect /i, e, é/ are articulated lower than in the SL, and are slightly more open. Central and back vowels /a, á, o, ó, u/ are likewise lower and have a darker quality. The distribution of initial onsets (i.e., of glottalized

vowels) varies; these are more common in the SL, and also initial u- is perceptibly glottalized. However, the onset is less abrupt in the SL than in the MD.

In the great majority of cases, every SL long /í/ and /ú/ are realized in the MD as short /i/, /u/.

Examples: SL: žít, říci, pít, účet, kún', dúm

MD: žit, řict, pit, učet, kun', dum

Therefore, the following correspondence rules can be postulated:

C (1) í ~ i / except in some words which are subject to C (2) below*

C (1a) ú ~ u / except in some words which are subject to C (2a) below

In general, only some /ú/, /í/ that have different historical origins are not subject to this rule:

SL: mlín (í < ý) úřad (ú < ou)

MD: mlén óřad (but also: uřad)

For this correspondence, a different rule must be given:

C (2) í ~ é / in some words**

C (2a) ú ~ ó / in some words**

A more specific condition for the rule C (2) cannot be given, since many /í/'s that originated in /ý/ give both /é/ or /i/, or only /i/:

SL: bít, umívat, mídlo (every í < ý)

MD: bit (or sometimes bét), umivat or umévat, but only: midlo

It is quite common that í (not from ý) after sibilants and asibilants is subject to rule C (2):

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*In these rules, the first element is the form appearing in SL; the second element is the form appearing in MD.

**Reference to the historical motivation is intentionally avoided, since many complex historical facts would have to be introduced. In view of the scope and purpose of this study, such thorough investigation is not possible.

e.g.: SL: sítko, cít'it

MD: sétko, cét'it

But even in this case there are many exceptions and irregularities which are, perhaps, best explained on the basis of the lexical influence of the SL:

e.g.: SL: síto, cíl

MD: sito, cil

In many instances, vowels other than /í, ú/ also differ in the feature of length; while they are long in the SL, they are short in the MD and vice versa:

SL:			MD:		
	bláto	nen'í		blato	nén'i
	rána	hnojit		rana	hnójit
	mák	dojit		mak	dójit

Other most common vocalic correspondences involve the following rules:

C (3) i ~ u / ž, š, č, j, ř ___ in all endings* and within stems of some nouns

Examples: SL: maži, žiji, kouři, duši, bičí, břix, čix

MD: mažu, žiju, kóřu, dušu, biču, břux, čux

but: SL: život, čistí, širokí

MD: život, čisté, široké

This correspondence occurs mainly in morphological endings; it is less common in the stems.

C (4) e ~ a / ž, š, č, c, ř, j ___ in some nominal endings*

---

*Such correspondences in endings could also be considered the result of morphological pressure within paradigms.

Examples: SL: N sg.: duše, slepice, kúže, moře (G sg.), zmije, biče (G sg.)

MD: N sg.: duša, slepica, kuža, moŕa (G sg.), zmija, biča (G sg.)

5.1.2. DIPHTHONGS.

The SL has, in contrast to the MD, the diphthongs ou, ej which occur within a morpheme. These have the following correspondences in the MD:

C (5) ou ~ ó / everywhere within one morpheme

This rule will give correct results in the MD; e.g.:

SL: mouka, louka, nesou, loupež, soud

MD: móka, lóka, nesó, lópež, sód

Exception: SL: mouxa MD: muxa

However, as in the case of all previous rules, C (5) does not always operate with the correct result in the opposite direction (i.e., all ó's in MD do not correspond to ou in the SL):

MD: hnójit SL: *hnoujit (hnojit)

pišó *pišou (píší)

It has been said in section 3.2.3. that ej occurs in the MD within one morpheme only in a few nouns of the type zlod'ej, veřej, peřej. For all other occurrences of ej within one morpheme, the following rule applies:

C (6) ej ~ é / within a single morpheme except in some nouns

Examples: SL: dej, nejlepší

MD: dé, nélepši

On the basis of rule C (2) it is clear that rule C (6) cannot be valid in the opposite direction in all instances:

MD:	léto	SL:	*lejto (léto)
	mladé		*mladej (mladí)
	mlén		*mlejn (mlín)
	lék		*lejk (lék)

5.1.3. CONSONANTS.

There are no major differences in the consonantal system; a slight articulatory difference is associated with sibilants, assibilants and vibrants that are pronounced with increased force when compared to the similar sounds in the SL.

Due to a different historical development, some clusters are realized differently in the MD. The following correspondence is without exception:

C (7) st' ~ šč / everywhere

Examples: SL: št'en'e, št'áva, št'etka

MD: ščen'e, ščáva, ščetka

5.1.4. MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES.

A. Automatic rules.

Some of the rules postulated for the Morkovice dialect operate also within the Standard language; however, certain rules must be modified, others must be added.*

The following rules do not apply or require modification in the Standard language:

Rule (4): e.g.: kupme: MD: [kubme]; k noze: MD: [g noze]

SL: [kupme] SL: [k noze]

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*Every manual on Standard Czech pronunciation gives a detailed account of appropriate rules; see also (16), (17), (18), (19).

Rule (5): e.g.: k vod'e: MD: [g vod'e]; moc ví: MD: [moʒ vi]
SL: [k vod'e] SL: [moc ví]

Rule (6) does not operate in the SL because of the frequent occurrence of the glottal stop.

e.g.: šak ano: MD: [šag ano]; človjek an'i: MD: [čég an'i]
SL: [šakʔano] SL: [človjekʔani]

Rule (9) must be modified with respect to [v] which does not devoice in the SL under the indicated conditions.

e.g.: kvočna: MD: [kfočna]; xvála: MD: [xfála]
SL: [kvočna] SL: [xvála]

Rules (10), (11), (12) are widely spread in various dialects but do not operate in the SL.

e.g.: cingat: MD: [ciŋgat]; SL: N/C
famfári [famfári]
klenba [klemba]

Rule (13) is likewise not applicable for the SL; two identical consonants across the major juncture are sometimes pronounced as one consonant, and in careful pronunciation as two separate consonants:

e.g.: ten noví: MD: [tennové]
SL: [tenoví] or [ten noví]

Rule (14) must be modified, since the results in the SL are different (assibilants).

e.g.: pod zemí: MD: [poᵈžemó]; at' žene: MD: [aᵈžene]
SL: [poʒemí] SL: [aʒene]

Rule (16) does not apply in the SL.

e.g.: vzpomenout: MD: [spomenót]
SL: [vspomenout]

Rule (17) must be modified, since [u̯] also becomes glottalized in the SL:

e.g.: uxo: MD: [uxo]

SL: [ʔuxo]

A rather peculiar rule for the SL involves h preceded by s. In such sequence, h is progressively assimilated to s and becomes x. For example, shoda, shazovat: MD: [zhoda], [zhazovat]

SL: [sxoda], [sxazovat]

B. Non-automatic changes.

These have an identical input and output in the majority of cases, but are more frequent in the SL, as the tendency in the MD is to avoid as much as possible the changes within the stem of words. Thus:

		SL:	MD:
Consonantal alternations:	inf.	péci	pict
	1st sg.	peku	peču
	2nd sg.	peče, etc.	peče
	3rd pl.	pekou	pečó
Movable e:	N sg.	prosba	prosba
	G pl.	proseb	G sg. prosb

The same applies to length; alternations are less numerous in the MD than in the SL:

e.g.: SL: N sg. dráha, práce MD: dráha, práca

I sg. drahou, prací dráhó, prácó

Change "MN'" also has another result in the SL--mj; since this alternative form may occur everywhere, another rule must be postulated:

C (8) mj ~ mn' / everywhere*

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*One exception to this rule is given in section 5.2.3., page 119.

e.g.: SL: mjesto, mjesíc, v domje*

MD: mn'esto, mn'esic, v domn'e

Many differences with respect to non-automatic changes are caused by redistribution and simplification within inflectional classes of words and will be pointed out in the following section.

5.2. Fundamental differences in the sphere of morphology.

5.2.1. NOUNS.

There are no differences as to the generic classification of nouns. However, the endings of nouns of every gender vary in the MD quite substantially from the SL paradigms. The differences are shown in the following comparative tables:

*The pronunciation mn' is also considered standard today because of its wide-spread occurrence in Moravia; it appears only rarely in Bohemia.

TABLE 8: Masculine nouns.

Number / Case	ANIMATE				INANIMATE			
	HARD		SOFT		HARD		SOFT	
	MD	SL	MD	SL	MD	SL	MD	SL
Sg. N	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
A	a	a	a	e	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
G	a	a	a	e	a	a, u	a	e
D	ovi	u, ovi	ovi	i, ovi	u	u	u	i
V	e	e	u	i, e	e	e	u	i
I	em	em	em	em	em	em	em	em
L	ovi	u	ovi	i, ovi	u, e	u, e	u	i
Pl. N	i	e, i, ové	i	i, ové	i	i	e	e
A	i	i	e	e	i	i	e	e
G	u	ú	u	ú	u	ú	u	ú
D	om	úm	om	úm	om	úm	om	úm
V	i	i, ové	i	i, ové	i	i	e	e
I	ama	i	ama	i	ama	i	ama	i
L	áx	ex, íx	áx	íx	áx	ex, íx	áx	íx

TABLE 9: Feminine nouns.

Number / Case	HARD		SOFT		MIXED	
	MD	SL	MD	SL	MD	SL
Sg. N	a	a	a	e, Ø	Ø	Ø
A	u	u	u	i, Ø	Ø	Ø
G	i	i	i	e	i	i
D	e	e	i	i	i	i
V	o	o	o	e, i	o	i
I	ó	ou	ó	í	ó	í
L	e	e	i	i	i	i
Pl. N	i	i	e	e	e	i
A	i	i	e	e	e	i
G	Ø	Ø	Ø	í, Ø	i	í
D	ám	ám	ám	ím	ám	em
V	i	i	e	e	e	i
I	ama	ami	ama	emi	ama	mi
L	áx	áx	áx	íx	áx	ex

TABLE 10: Neuter nouns.

Number / Case	HARD		SOFT		i-TYPE	
		SL	MD	SL	MD	SL
Sg. N	o	o	e	e	i	í
A	o	o	e	e	i	í
G	a	a	a	e	i	í
D	u	u	u	i	i	í
V	o	o	e	e	i	í
I	em	em	em	em	im	ím
L	u, e	u, e	u	i	i	í
Pl. N	a	a	a	e	i	í
A	a	a	a	e	i	í
G	ø	ø	i	i	i	í
D	om	úm	om	ím	im	ím
V	a	a	a	e	i	í
I	ama	i	ama	i	ama	ími
L	áx	ex, áx	áx	éx	áx	íx

Some correspondence rules previously postulated are apparent in the declensional paradigms:

C (3) - e.g., D, L sg. masc. soft MD: stroju

SL: stroji

D, L sg. neut. soft MD: moře

SL: moři, etc.

C (1) - e.g., throughout the i-type neuter nouns:

MD: staven'i

SL: staven'í

in G pl. masc. hard MD: pánu

SL: pánů, etc.

C (4) - e.g., G sg. masc. soft MD: stroja

SL: stroje

C (5) - e.g., I sg. fem. hard MD: ženó

SL: ženou, etc.

Some additional rules must be formulated to account for numerous differences in the paradigms:

C (9) (V)mi ~ (V)ma / in endings

where V - vowel which does or does not occur

e.g.: MD: I pl. fem. hard: ženama, I pl. fem. mixed type: kost'ama

SL: I pl. fem. hard: ženami, I pl. fem. mixed type: kostmi

C (10) úm ~ om / in endings

e.g.: MD: D pl. masc. hard: hradom, D pl. neut. hard: mn'estom

SL: D pl. masc. hard: hradům, D pl. neut. hard: mjestům

Other differences cannot be classified by means of correspondence rules; they are the result of the morphological pressure in the MD; e.g.,

I pl. masc. hard: MD: pánama (on the basis of fem. hard paradigm)

SL: páni, etc.

As the tables show, the hard paradigms influence many endings of the soft paradigms within respective gender classes. The influence of the feminine hard paradigm is particularly strong in that it neutralizes most gender distinctions in the plural number.

In the feminine gender, the morphological pressure in the MD results in the coalescence of two separate soft SL paradigms--núše, písen' into one paradigm pisn'a. Due to such redistribution, nouns of the type pisn'a represent a marginal lexical variety in the MD in N sg.:

e.g.:	SL:	básen'	MD:	básn'a
		povoden'		povodn'a

Feminine nouns of the SL type kost have soft ending t':

e.g.:	SL:	kost	MD:	kost'
		pjest		pjest'
		bolest		bolest'

Certain cases in the SL have two or more possible endings; this type of variation is rare in the MD (there are, however, two endings in L sg. of masculine and neuter hard paradigms), contributing to the stability of stems within paradigms.

Thus: e.g.: masc. hard noun hox in L pl.: MD: hoxáx

SL: hošíx

hard neuter noun střed'isko in L pl. has the forms:

MD: střed'iskáx

SL: střed'iscíx, etc.

The feminine noun ruka has two plural forms in the SL--ruce

(remnant of dual), ruki (regular pl.), which are semantically distinguished. In the MD, only the latter form is used.

On the basis of analogy with other paradigms, and/or due to some changes expressed by correspondence rules, certain particular endings that appear in the SL are entirely eliminated in the MD:

e.g.: N pl. of anim. masc. nouns: -ové

L pl. of various paradigms: -íx

I sg. of hard fem. nouns: -ou, etc.

5.2.2. ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives in the MD reflect rule C (6) which is apparent in the formation of the comparative and superlative:

SL: smjelý - smjelejší - nejsmjelejší

MD: smn'elé - smn'eléši - nésmn'eléši

Wherever applicable, rule C (1) also operates:

e.g.: SL: mlad'í muži

MD: mlad'i muži

When adjectives with a stem ending in -m form a comparative in the SL, the correspondence rule C (7) applies:

SL: přímí - přímjejší - nejpřímjejší

MD: přimé - přimn'éši - népřimn'éši

A peculiar phenomenon occurs in the declensional paradigm, where rule C (2) is reflected in N sg. of masc. hard paradigm:

e.g.: SL: noví stúl MD: nové stul

starí stúl staré stul

However, in N sg. of neuter nouns, an entirely reversed process occurs:

C (11) é ~ i / in some adj. endings

e.g.: SL: nové mjesto MD: novi mn'esto

staré mjesto stari mn'esto

Consequently, masc. hard adjectives in the MD correspond to the neuter hard adjective in the SL, and neuter hard adjectives in the MD correspond to masc. hard adj. in the SL (in addition, there is a short i in the MD forms).

The majority of cases in all genders within the MD reflect one or more of the above indicated correspondence rules.

e.g.: I pl. fem.: SL: mladími ženami

MD: mladéma ženama -- éma reflects C (2), C (9)

D sg. masc.: SL: mladému muži

MD: mladimu mužovi -- imu reflects C (11), etc.

The soft adjectival paradigm reflects no differences between the SL and MD except for rule C (1).

N pl. of hard adjectives in the SL (unlike in the MD) differs with respect to genders: masc. an. have -í, masc. inan. and fem. adj. have -é, and neuter adj. have -á:

e.g.: SL: noví muži, nové stoli, nové ženi, nová mjesta

In the MD one common ending -i is used. In all oblique cases in the plural number, rule C (2) operates (where applicable, also other rules operate):

SL: o novíx ženax MD: o novéx ženax

s novími stoli s novéma stolama (C (2), C (9))

k novím mjestúm k novém mn'estom

The SL is further differentiated from the MD by a larger number of the nominal forms of adjectives which are (with a few exceptions) replaced by full forms in the MD.

e.g.: SL: jsem si jist (masc. nomin. adj.) MD: su si isté (full adj.)

je toho sxopen - masc. je teho sxopné - masc.

sxopna - fem. sxopná - fem.

sxopno - neut. sxopni - neut.

je již dlouho mrtev - masc. je už dlóho mrtvé - masc.

mrtva - fem. mrtvá - fem.

mrtvo - neut. mrtvi - neut.

but: SL: jsem rád - nominal form masc.

MD: su rád - nominal form masc.

5.2.3. PRONOUNS.

Differences that occur in the declension of individual pronouns mostly refer to some of the above correspondence rules. However, there are also the following differences:

The pronoun já has enclitic forms in the SL; these enclitic forms are non-existent in the MD. Furthermore, the full forms differ in some cases:

		SL:	cf.:	MD:
	N	já		já
	A	mne, mje		mn'e
	G	mne, mje		mn'e
	D	mn'e, mi		mn'e
	I	mnou		mnó
	L	mn'e		mn'e

In the dative case, the usual correspondence of mj - mn' (rule C (8)) is not observed. Both SL and MD have mn' for the full form. It is apparent that forms of this pronoun in the MD are a result of a considerable leveling force.

In the SL the full (emphatic) form of the third person sg. pronoun on in the accusative is jeho or jej when it stands without a preposition:

SL: jeho jsem nevid'el or: jej jsem nevid'el

In the MD, the short form is used proclitically even when the pronoun is emphasized:

MD: ho sem nevid'el

A similar difference can be observed in D sg. of the same pronoun:

SL: jemu n'ic neříkej

MD: mu n'ic neřiké

In the acc. and dative pl. of on'i, SL has prothetic j--jix, jim, respectively. The absence of j in these pronouns in the MD points to the tendency to avoid prothetic j. Such tendencies are apparent in every word class and represent another phonological characteristic of the MD:*

e.g.:	SL:	jinak	MD:	inak
		jidlo		idlo
		jestli		esli

This fact can be formulated as another correspondence rule, since before -i it occurs almost everywhere:

C (12) j ~ Ø / initially before -i

However, in D sg. of the third person fem. pronoun ona, prothetic j- is often used:

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*See also section 5.2.5., page 123.

SL: jí to neříkej přines jí to

MD: ji to neříké přines i to*

The pronouns kdo, ten have an inserted o in the SL in oblique cases, instead of the MD e:

SL: D sg.: koho, toho MD: keho, teho

D sg.: komu, tomu kemu, temu, etc.

The pronouns keré, kerá, etc., reflect simplification of clusters in the MD; SL forms are: kterí, která, které, etc.

The demonstrative pronouns onen, ona, ono are sometimes used in the SL when an object is far from the speakers:

e.g.: SL: onen dúm je již stár (starí)

MD: ten dum je už staré

The pronouns tvoja, svoja and their plurals have in the SL in all cases the shorter forms which are more common: má, tvá, svá, mé, tvé, své, etc. These forms are declined according to the adjectival paradigm mladá.

Examples: SL: vidím mou (or: moji) ženu (cf. mladou)

vidím tvou (or: tvoji) ženu (cf. mladou)

vidím svou (or: svoji) ženu, etc. (cf. mladou)

Examples of correspondence rules applicable to pronouns:

SL: vid'ím ji MD: vid'im ju - rule C (3)

moje (or: má) žena moja žena - rule C (4), etc.

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*Such usage may be considered as one of the reasons why the SL conjunction i is changed to aji in the MD--SL přines i to is přines aji to in the MD (ambiguity is avoided).

5.2.4. NUMERALS.

The numerals jeden, jedna, jedno are declined in the SL according to the pronouns ten, ta, to, respectively (in MD these numerals are declined like the hard adjectives mladé in the corresponding gender).

e.g.: SL: G sg. masc.: jednoho muže (cf. toho)

G pl. fem.: jedn'ex žen (cf. t'ex)

MD: G sg. masc.: jedniho muža (cf. mladiho)

G pl. fem.: jednéx žen (cf. mladéx)

The instrumental case of dva, dvje has in the MD the form dvóma on the basis of analogy with other oblique cases; in the SL, the form is dvjema.

Tři, štiři (čtiři in the SL) is not declined in the SL according to the hard adjectives as in the MD, but according to the soft fem. paradigm kost in the plural:

e.g.: I pl. fem.: SL: čtiřmi ženami MD: štiřema ženama

There is a difference between the SL and MD when a counted noun follows the numeral in an expression; in the SL only the numeral sto may remain undeclined:

e.g.: SL: L sg.: o sto korunáx or: o stu korunáx

But sto must be declined when it is a part of a composite number:

Instr. pl.: SL: dvjema sti ženami MD: dvje sta ženama

or: dvjema sti žen (noun may remain in G pl.) or: dvóma stama žen

All remaining numerals, if applicable, reflect the correspondence rules. Apart from that, there are no differences between the SL and MD.

5.2.5. VERBS.

Verbal forms, apart from correspondence rules, differ in the following:

Infinitives in the SL may end in -i which causes the change t ⟶ t'.

e.g.: MD: psat SL: psát'i

ležet ležet'i

Gerunds and past conditional are still used in the SL, but are not used in MD.

e.g.: SL: hled'el, nevjeříc svím očím - gerund

MD: hled'el a nevjeřil svojém očám

SL: kdibi mje bila poslexla, nebilo bi se to stalo - past conditional

MD: see possibilities in section 4.2.5.6., p. 90.

Passive participles in SL have the forms of nominal adjectives in N sg. and pl. as compared to the forms of 'long' adjectives in MD:

SL: bil zabit ve válce román bil přečten

MD: bil zabité ve válce román bil přečtené

Imperatives in the SL have often different forms for second person sg. and for first and second person pl.:

SL: t'iskn'i - t'iskn'eme - t'iskn'ete -- i-e alternation

MD: t'iskn'i - t'iskn'ime - t'iskn'ite -- no alternation

Differences as to endings in appropriate classes are demonstrated by the following table:

TABLE 11: Comparative table of personal endings.

Number / Person	CLASS I - III		CLASS IV		CLASS V	
	MD	SL	MD	SL	MD	SL
Sg. 1.	u	u, i	im	ím	ám	ám
2.	eš	eš	iš	íš	áš	áš
3.	e	e	i	í	á	á
Pl. 1.	em	em(e)	ime	íme	áme	áme
2.	ete	ete	ite	íte	áte	áte
3.	ó	ou, í	ijó	í, ejí	ajó	ají

The MD has coalesced various types within classes I and IV.

e.g.: in Class I: SL: 1. sg. nesu, 3. pl. nesou } hard type
1. sg. píší, 3. pl. píší } soft type
MD: nesu, nesó, pišu, pišó } identical type

Class IV: SL: 1. sg. prosím, 3. pl. prosí } í-type
1. sg. sázím, 3. pl. sázejí } ejí-type
MD: prosim, prosijó, sázim, sázijó } identical type

We can account for most differences within the verbal system by correspondence rules:

SL: píši — MD: pišu -- rule C (3)

nesou — nesó -- rule C (5)

Some differences are the result of simplifications and/or morphological pressure:

SL: píšeme MD: pišem - simplification

prosí prosijó
sázejí sázijó
d'elají d'elajó

} Pressure of ejí-type of Class IV as well as levelling according to the ending ó of Class I is apparent in these examples.

The present tense for bit (SL bít) is entirely different in the SL:

SL:	Sg. 1.	jsem	cf.:	MD:	su	Pl. 1.	jsme	cf.:	MD:	zme
	2.	jsi	cf.:	MD:	si	2.	jste	cf.:	MD:	ste
	3.	je	cf.:	MD:	je	3.	jsou	cf.:	MD:	só

The tendency towards dropping initial j- also before consonants is apparent in the MD. A peculiar phenomenon with respect to the initial j- before a consonant occurs in the MD verb it (idu, ideš, etc.) and its derivatives (SL form: jít'i). When a prefix is added to this verb, j ⟶ n:*

e.g.: SL: zajdu MD: zandu
vejdu vendu but: pudu

Differences in the conjugation of irregular verbs follow the pattern of regular verbs; but:

MD:	3rd pl.	ijó	(inf. jest)	SL:	jí or: jed'í
		vijó	(inf. vjed'et)		ví or: vjed'í
		xcó	(inf. xt'et)		xt'ejí

SL also has an imperative form vjez, -te, -me for vjed'et which is not used in the MD. There is also a different infinitive and passive participle for the MD xt'et; these forms in SL are xt'ít, xt'en, respectively.

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*This phenomenon may appear peculiar when other Czech dialects are considered; however, it occurs, for example, in Sorbian as well.

5.2.6. ADVERBS.

Apart from differences connected with the correspondence rules, the most important difference with respect to adverbs appears in the comparative degree: the MD suffix -éc is eji in the SL:

e.g.: MD: zdravje - zdravjéc SL: zdravje - zdravjeji

Differences appear also in the irregularly gradated adverbs:

MD: draho - dráž - nédráž SL: draze - dráže - nejdráže

dlóho - dil - nédil dlouho - déle - nejdéle, etc.

5.2.7. PREPOSITIONS, PARTICLES AND CONJUNCTIONS.

There are no differences in these word classes other than lexical and those that are accounted for by correspondence rules:

Example of lexical differences:

MD:	prot'ivá	SL:	vúči
	skrzevá		skrze
	aji		i, etc.

5.2.8. INTERJECTIONS.

Interjections in the MD represent a word class that is very little differentiated from the SL. However, some interjections do not have a counterpart in the SL at all; others are modified according to the above correspondences; this applies also to verbs formed from interjections:

Verbs:	MD:	xrn'et	SL:	identical	Interjections:	MD:	prr	SL: identical
		hókat		houkat			vijó	vije
		kn'órat		kn'ourat				
		kn'učet		identical				

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.0. In the preceding chapters, the basic phonological, morphophonological and morphological features of the Morkovice dialect were described and contrasted with those of Standard Czech. The purpose of this procedure was to present, for the first time in this area of scholarship, a comprehensive outline of the structure of the surveyed dialect. The scope of a descriptive work of the kind adopted in this thesis has certain limitations and does not allow a thorough and exhaustive presentation of all phenomena associated with the Morkovice dialect.

6.1. In the sphere of phonology, and morphophonology, areas which would require further discussion are:

1) The phenomena such as the absence of long vowel phonemes /ú/, /í/.
2) Regularities and irregularities of the occurrence of glottal stops.
3) Acoustic differences in the sound system of the Morkovice dialect as compared to Standard Czech.
4) The occurrence of non-automatic changes within the Morkovice dialect; this complex problem involves vocalic, consonantal and length alternations, loss or addition of phonemes, loss of vocalic length, etc. Only a thorough investigation of these phenomena can result in postulating justifiable rules that operate within the system with respect to these changes.
5) Differences in the development of the sound system as compared to Standard Czech, particularly in the system of vowels. A study in

diachrony is needed to provide explanations for the presence of numerous idiosyncratic contrastive features.

In the sphere of morphology, a major problem left without a satisfactory explanation in this thesis involves the profound difference between paradigms in the Morkovice dialect and Standard Czech as well as between individual morphological forms. A diachronic approach to this problem can provide the necessary answers and specify which differences are based on morphological leveling due to pressures within the system, and which are the results of diverse historical developments.

Moreover, future investigations must take into consideration the area of syntax which shows considerable differences with respect to the Standard language. It is clear that the study of the syntax of the Morkovice dialect will necessitate an in-field study and that the influence or non-influence of the Czech literary language must be taken into account.

Finally, an in-the-field study can rectify the lack of accurateness of this thesis as to the exact dialectal boundaries of the Morkovice dialect, and the actual routes of isoglosses. It can provide facts about the current process of disintegration of the dialect as well.

6.2. While it is felt that the method of description used in this thesis is especially suitable for the intended goals as outlined in the Introduction, i.e., the presentation of the facts with respect to the structure of phonology and morphology of the Morkovice dialect, there is no denying the fact that a different theoretical framework (such as a generative approach) could be used with better results in presenting

certain specific sections. This applies in particular to the section on morphophonemics where the descriptive approach is unable to express generalities and tendencies within the system. The application of the method of distinctive features would enable us to collapse many rules in which an identical process takes place. Such a method, taking advantage of binary features, would result not only in a substantial reduction of the number of rules, but would also simplify the rules and provide a systematic evaluation of the morphophonological processes in the Morkovice dialect.

On the other hand, the formulation of the specific rules presented in Chapter III gives a clear picture of the alternations in the dialect without providing excessive information. In view of the current treatment of morphophonological processes, the rules presented in this thesis may be labeled "morpheme structure rules", or, in less technical terms, "pronunciation rules".*

The shortcomings of a purely synchronic approach adopted in this thesis are apparent particularly in the section on comparison of the Morkovice dialect with the Standard language. The formulation of the "correspondence rules" does not provide any answers as to why certain, at times rather unusual, phenomena occur. It is hoped that future research--in this case a diachronic study of the Morkovice dialect--will remedy such shortcomings.

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*This is a translation of the Czech term "pravidla výslovnosti", which are given in every standard manual on Czech (see 17, 18). Such rules, similarly to the rules in Chapter III, are a simple restatement of facts affecting utterances in the language.

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APPENDIX

PART I

System of transcription used in this thesis (based on IPA)

Standard Czech Orthography	Transcription	Key Word (MD)
a, á	/a/, /á/	ale, árija
b	/b/	bit
c	/c/	cap
č	/č/	čáp
d	/d/	dat
dˇ, di, dě	/d'/	d'iv
e, é	/e/, /é/	esli, éro
f	/f/	fuj
g	/g/	guma
h	/h/	hox
ch	/x/	xut'
i, í	/i/, /í/	idlo - only short
j	/j/	jak
k	/k/	košˇ
l	/l/	lék
m	/m/	mak
n	/n/	nuž
o, ó	/o/, /ó/	on, óřad
p	/p/	pod
r	/r/	rok

Standard Czech Orthography	Transcription	Key Word (MD)
ř	/ř/	řeka
s	/s/	sin
š	/š/	šest
t	/t/	tam
t', ti, tě	/t'/	t'ixo
u, ú	/u/, /ú/	uxo - only short
v	/v/	voda
y, ý	/i/, /í/	midlo - only short
z	/z/	zub
ž	/ž/	žit

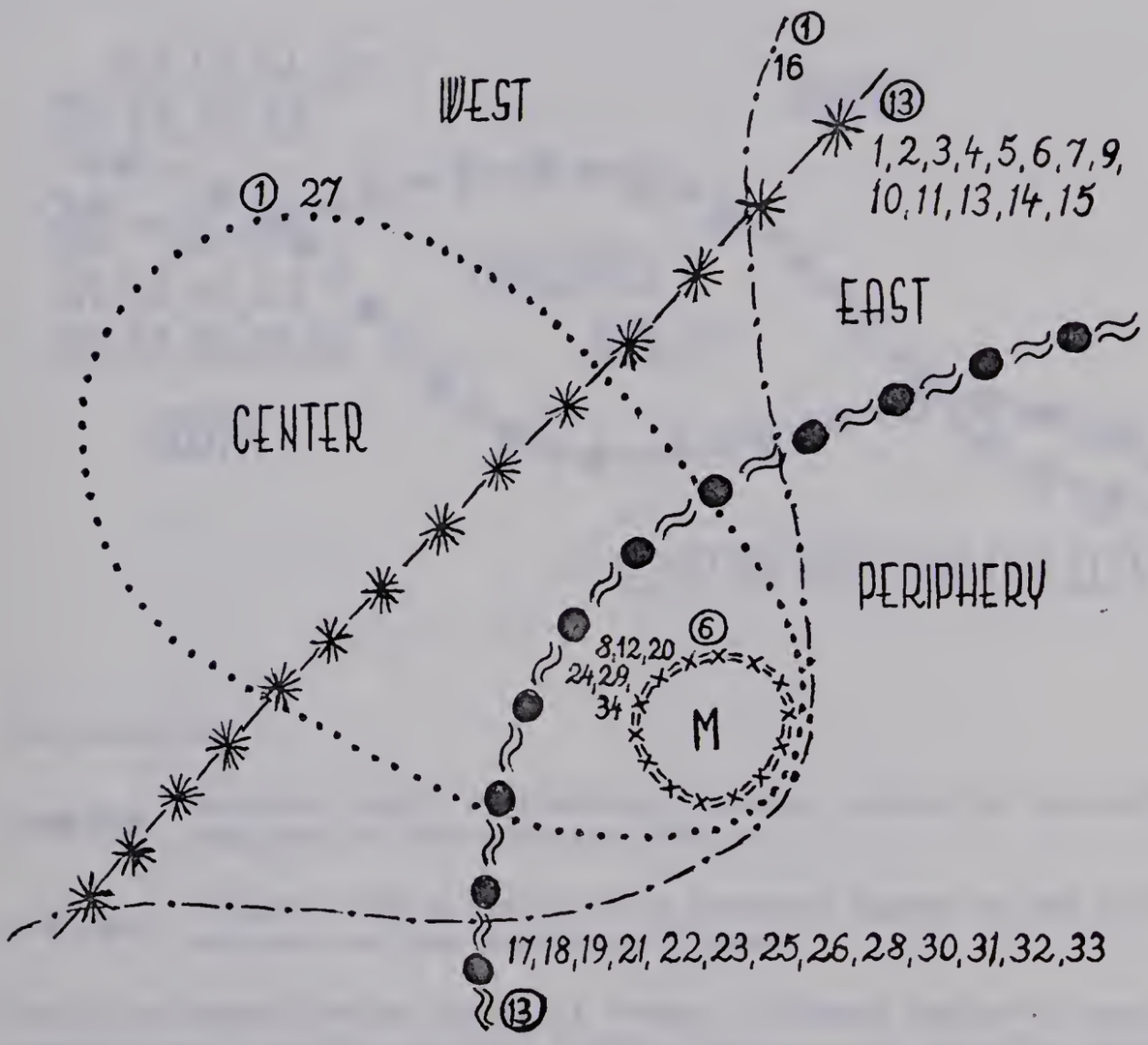
PART II

FIGURE I: The main dialectal division of Moravia with the approximate location of the Morkovice dialect.

Explanations:

- Central Moravian (Hanácká) dialects
- Silesian dialects
- Group of Polish-Czech mixed dialects
- Eastern Moravian dialects
- Regions with population of heterogeneous dialects
- Eastern Bohemian dialects
- Dialectal boundaries
- Boundary between the centre and eastern perifery of Central Moravian dialects
- Czechoslovak boundaries
- Boundary dividing Moravia from Bohemia and Slovakia (the boundary between Moravia and Bohemia is non-existent today)

FIGURE II: Immediate area of the Morkovice dialect, showing the relevant isoglosses according to Skulina.



Explanations:

M - Morkovice dialect

An encircled numeral represents the total number of isoglosses in each isoline. Unencircled numerals refer to the number of a specific feature in the text.

Isolines:

—✳—✳— "West" versus "East" (M is in "East")

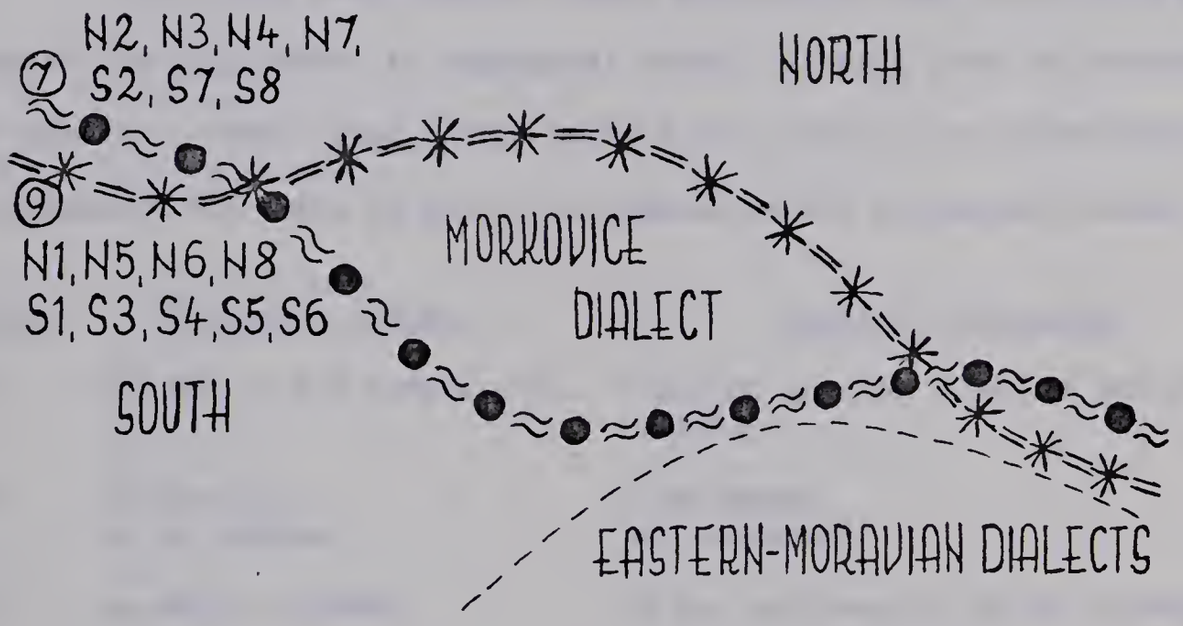
—•—•—• "West" versus "East" (M is in "West")

≈●≈●≈ "Center" versus "Periphery" (M is in "Periphery")

••••••••• "Center" versus "Periphery" (M is in "Center")

=x=x=x=x= isoglosses delimiting M specifically

FIGURE III. Immediate area of the Morkovice dialect showing the dividing isoglosses according to Bělič.



Explanations:

≈●≈● isogloss bundle representing features shared by the northern subgroup and the Morkovice dialect

=✳=✳= isogloss bundle representing features shared by the southern subgroup and the Morkovice dialect

Encircled numeral shows the total number of shared features; unencircled numerals and preceding capital letters refer to the specific feature (N - North, S - South).

PART III

TRANSLATION OF PHRASES AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN THE TEXT

The data that involve longer expressions are listed here according to the page number in sequential order. If more than one expression is used on a single page in the text of this thesis, the expressions are arranged in the order in which they appear on the appropriate page:

Page	Morkovice dialect	English translation
22.	ale toš co bix nešel, pudu	I do not see why I should not go; I shall
24.	já mám hlad	I am hungry
	to je kráááása	how beautiful!
25.	no ńéé́é, neřikéé́é	do not tell me, it is not possible!
31.	kup boti	buy some shoes
	já sem vařil	I cooked
	já sem včerá bil	I was yesterday
32.	musim it dom	I must go home
	pod stolem	under the table
	ring hoři	the town square is on fire
33.	sit' na ribi	fish net
	tak mn'e řekn'i	well, tell me then
35.	pes bjehal s babó	the dog was running with the old woman
36.	máš novi boti	you have got new shoes
37.	bix bil	I would be
	nex ho	let him be
38.	vjec bila	the matter (thing) was
	hlidač bil	the guard was
39.	zet' řekl	the son-in-law said
40:	bud' se	either (he)
	at' se	let (it)
	pod zemó	under the ground
	at' šije	let him sow
	at' žije	may he live

Page	Morkovice dialect	English translation
(40.)	at' čeka	let him wait
	bud' celé den' doma	stay home the whole day
44.	to je on	it is him
	Už se teho moc namluvilo o sn'ežnim mužovi, ale doposavád' se ho n'ikemu nepodařilo vifotografovat.	Much has been said about the snow man, but so far nobody managed to take a picture of him.
45.	červeno-modro-bilé	red-blue-white
	politicko-ekonomické	political and economical
47.	. . . bil, bila	was
	tak honem	well, do fast!
	proč je	why is (he)?
	neviš n'ic	you know nothing
	moc né	not very much
	xlap leži	the man is laying
	bix řekl	I would say
48.	xlap vi	the man knows
	moc vi	he knows too much
	bix vám	I would . . . to you
	natoč vodu	get some water
49.	šak ano	but of course
	xlap an'i necekl	the fellow did not utter a syllable
	já bix an'i	I would not even . . .
	ten xlap an'i tá baba	neither that man nor that old woman
	ten xlap, o kerim bila řeč	that fellow we talked about . . .
50.	z ohnutiho drátu	from bent wire
	zohnutiho drátu	(lots) of bent wire
	ten kun'	that horse
	on keca	he is talking nonsense
51.	tam fókalo	it was draughty there
	já sem vjed'el	I knew
52.	bil liné	he was lazy
	bil iné	(there) was another one
	pod domem	under the house
	po domex	door to door
	les zhořel	the forest burnt down
	les hořel	the forest was on fire
	pod' dom	come home
	pod' tam	let's go there
	bit t'ixo	to be quiet
	at' čeká	let him wait
	at' šeptá	let him whisper

Page	Morkovice dialect	English translation
(52.)	pod celim	under the whole
	at' žene	let him chase
	pod zemó	under the ground
61.	četl sem o hrabje Monte-Xristovi	I have read about Count Monte-Cristo
62.	bil sem tam s kn'iže pánem	I was there with the prince
67.	mladé človjek	young man
	stará ženská	old woman
68.	dum otca	father's house
	klobók mami	mother's hat
70.	staré muž	old man
	hezké muž	nice man
	suxé muž	dry man
73.	tebe sem tam nevid'el	I did not see <u>you</u> there
	k tobje nepřišel	he did not come to <u>you</u>
	d'ivám se na n'u	I am looking at her
	vid'im ju	I can see her
	idu k n'im	I am going to see them
75.	bil sem tam s jeji ceró	I was there with her daughter
	dám im to	I shall give it to them
76.	ti mlad'i pán'i	those young gentlemen
77.	vid'im tehoto xlapa	I can see this man
	vid'im tuto ženu	I can see this woman
	takové mladé xlap	such a young man
	taková otázka	such a question
78.	s keho bratrem tam bils?	with whose brother were you there?
	o keho žen'e mluvijó?	whose wife are they talking about?
	ten xlap, keriho se vid'el	that man whom I have seen
	bila tam ženská, jakó sem ešče v život'e nevid'el	there was a woman there such as I have never seen in my life
80.	vid'el sem jedniho xlapa a ten mn'e povidal	I saw a man and he was telling me
	jedn'i xlapi mn'e povidali	some men were telling me
81.	bil sem tam s dvace'ti šest'ima (dvóma, štiřema, jedna) xlapama	I was there with 26 (22, 24, 21) other men

Page	Morkovice dialect	English translation
82.	dvje sta žen, etc.	two hundred women, etc.
	prvn'i misto	first place
	třet'i řada	third row
83.	druhá řada	second row
	štvrté xlap	fourth man
	páti misto	fifth place
86.	xlap sije pšen'icu	a man is sowing wheat
	pšen'ica se sije na jaře	wheat is sown in the springtime
	pšen'ica bila zasitá na jaře	wheat was sown in the springtime
	xlap se češe	a man combs himself
	xlap češe vlasi sobje	a man combs his hair
	xlap si češe vlasi	a man combs his hair
87.	nepřeja mu n'ic zliho, rači sem n'ic neřikal	not wishing him anything evil, I kept silent
88.	vi ste bil	you were (polite address to one person)
	vi umite	you know
	prší	it is raining
	říká se, že se bude žen'it	it is going around that he is going to get married
	říkajó (říkali), že se bude žen'it	they say (said) that he is going to get married
89.	ti sis četl (četl sis)	you were reading
	je dobře, žes přišel	it is good that you came
	nevim, kdeste bili	I do not know where you were
90.	já bix řekl, etc.	I would say, etc.
	řekl, abix šel	he told me to go
	kdibis jenom vjed'el!	if you only knew!
	kdibis mn'e bévala bila poslexla, nebilo bi se to bévalo stalo	had you listened to me, it would not have happened
100.	xca nexca	willy nilly
101.	okolo lesa	around the forest
	vedle školi	alongside the school
	misto n'eho	instead of him
	skrzevá les	through the forest
	kvuli tobje (temu)	because of you (it)
102.	ale prosimt'e!	it is not possible!
	kdiž já nevim	well, I don't know
	Du tod'ka lesem a všecko 'prásk', 'škrn'k', 'řax', a naráz 'bác',--z čistajasna se zablesko a	One day I was going through the forest, everything was making strange noises, and all of a sudden there was a bang--from the blue sky

Page	Morkovice dialect	English translation
(102.)	zahřmn'elo, až mn'e v ušáx zalehlo.	came lightning and thunder so loud that my ears buzzed.
109.	moc ví šak ano člověk an'i ten nový	he knows too much but of course a person even . . . that new one
117.	nový stůl starí stůl (The adjectives noví, starí are used also in the examples on the following page.)	new table old table
119.	jsem si jist je toho sxopen je již dlouho mrtev jsem rád	I am sure he would do that he had died a long time ago I am glad
120.	jeho jsem nevid'el jemu n'ic neříkej	I did not see him do not tell him anything
121.	jí to neříkej onen dům je již stár vid'ím mou ženu moje žena	do not tell that to her that house over there is already old I can see my wife my wife
122.	jednoho muže, etc. o sto korunáx dvjema sti žen	one man, etc. about 100 crowns with 200 women
123.	hled'el nevjeříc svím očím kdibi mje bila poslexla, nebilo bi se to stalo bil zabit ve válce román bil přečten	he looked, not believing his eyes had she listened to me, it would not have happened he was killed in the war the novel was read

PART IV

VOCABULARY

The vocabulary is arranged in alphabetical order (according to the Czech alphabet--see chart, Part I). For comparative purposes, transcribed Standard Czech forms of the Morkovice dialect words are also given.

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
	A	
a	a	and
abi	abi	so that
aji	i	also
ale	ale	but
anebo	anebo	or, or else
ano	ano	yes
an'i	an'i	neither
árija	árije	aria
at'	at'	let!
	B	
baba; babka (diminutive)	baba; babka	woman, old woman; little old woman
bác	bác	bang, bump
bahno	bahno	mud
banka	banka	bank
básn'a	básen'	poem
bék, béček (dim.)	bík, bíček	bull, bullock

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
bez	bez	without
bič	bič	whip
bidlet	bidlet	to dwell
bilé	bílí	white
bit, bil (past)	bit, bil	to be, he was
bjeda	bjeda	alas
bjeh	bjeh	run (noun)
bjelet	bjelet	to grow white
bjež! (imperative)	bjež!	run!
blaho	blaho	bliss
blato	bláto	mud
blb (noun), blbé (adj.)	blb, blbí	idiot, silly
blizko	blízko	near
bodlo	bodlo	bayonet, thorn
bohatstvi	bohatství	wealth
bolest'	bolest	pain
bóřka	bouřka	storm
boti	boti	shoes
brat	brát	to take
bratr	bratr	brother
bratrské	bratrský	brotherly
břeh	břeh	bank, shore
břux	břix	belly
bud'me (imperative)	bud'me	let us be
buh	búh	God

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
buhví	búhví	God knows
buxta	buxta	cake
	C	
cap	kozel	he-goat
ceknót	ceknout	not to say a syllable
celé	celí	whole
cena	cena	price, prize
cera	dcera	daughter
cét'it	cít'it	to feel
co	co	what
cingat	cinkat	tinkle
	č	
čáp	čáp	stork
čék (človjek), pl. lid'i	človjek, lidé	man, men
čekat	čekat	to wait
čepica	čepice	cap (head cover)
či	čí	whose
čist	číst	to read
čist'it (verb), čisté (adj.)	čist'it, čistí	to clean, clean
človječi	člověčí	human

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
	D	
dar	dar	gift
dat, dé (imp.)	dat, dej	to give, give
devjet set	devjet set	900
dlóhé (adj.); dlóho (adv.)	dlouhí; dlouho	long
dnes	dnes	today
do	do	into
dobjehnót	dobjehnout	(in this sense) to fool someone
dobré (adj.), dobře (adv.)	dobrí, dobře	good, well
dójit	dojit	to milk
dokázat	dokázat	to prove, to achieve
doslova	doslova	word for word
doxtor	doktor	doctor
dráha	dráha	track, railway
drahé; draho (adv.)	drahí; draho	dear, expensive; dearly
drát	drát	wire
drozd	drozd	thrush
držet; držet se	držet; držet se	to hold; to hold onto
drnčet	drnčet	chatter, jolt
dřevo	dřevo	wood
dříč; dřit se	dříč; dřít se	hard worker; to drudge
dřimat	dřímat	to doze
dum	dům	house

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
dux	dux	ghost
dva, dvje	dva, dvje	two
dvur	dvúr	yard, court
	D'	
d'ecko	d'ít'e	child, baby
d'elat, d'elé (imp.)	d'elat, d'elej	to do, do
d'eln'ik; d'eln'ické (adj.)	d'eln'ík; d'eln'ickí	worker; labor, worker's
d'evčica	d'ívka	girl
d'iki	d'íki	thanks
d'ikibohu	d'íkibohu	thank God
d'iv	d'iv	miracle
d'ivka	d'ívka	girl
d'ivox	d'ivox	savage
d'iža	d'íže	kneading trough
	E	
elektrárn'a	elektrárna	power plant
éra	éra	era
éro	letadlo	airplane
erteple	brambory	potatoes
esli	jestli	if
ešče	ješt'e	still, yet
famfári	fanfári	fanfare
fára	fara	parsonage
figura	figura	figure

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
film	film	film
fókat	foukat	to blow
Franta	Frant'ík	Frank
fuj	fuj	fie!
futro	strop	ceiling
	G	
gat'e	kalhoty	pants
glacek	klacek	stick, rascal
gramatika	gramatika	grammar
guma	guma	rubber
	H	
hajat	hajat	to sleep (about children)
hafat	hafat	to bow-wow
hajné	hajní	gamekeeper
házet, házé! haž!	házet, házej	to throw, throw!
hébat (imperf.)	híbat	to move
hen, henka	tamhle	over there
hezké, néhezčí (superl.)	hezkí, nejhezčí	nice, nicest
himlgergotkrucifiks	Bože na nebesíx	my God in heaven!
hlad	hlad	hunger
hlava	hlava	head
hlidač	hlídač	guard
hlóbat	hloubat	to ponder

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
hlóbka	hloubka	depth
hlópé	hloupí	stupid
hluxé	hluxí	deaf
hmožd'iř	hmožd'íř	mortar
hnójit	hnojit	to fertilize
hnót or hébnót (perf.)	hnout	to move
hox	hox	boy
honem	honem	hurry!
hořet	hořet	to burn, be on fire
host'	host	guest
host'ina	host'ina	banquet
hot	hot	gee-ho
hrabje	hrabje, hrabje	count, rake
hrad	hrad	castle
Hradčani	Hradčani	Prague Castle
hrát	hrát	to play
hrča	boule	bump
hrnec	hrnec	pot
hrnek	hrnek	mug
hrom	hrom	thunder
hrome!	hrome!	damn!
hřbitov	hřbitov	cemetery
hřmn'et	hřmjet	to thunder
hvozd	hvozd	deep forest

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
	X	
xextat se	xextat se	to guffaw
xibjet	xibjet	to be absent
xirurg	xirurg	surgeon
xlap	xlap	fellow
xlapec	xlapec	lad
xleba	xléb	bread
xn'apat	xn'apat	to snatch
xod'it	xod'it	to go
xrápat	xrápat	to snore
xrn'et	xrn'et	to snooze
xřtán	xřtán	throat
xt'et	xt'et	to want
xut'	xut'	taste
xvála	xvála	praise
	I	
idlo	jídlo	food
ix	jejix	their
im	jim	to them
ináč, inak	jinak	otherwise
ingóst	inkoust	ink
iskra	jiskra	spark
it	jít	to go
Ivoš	Ivan	Ivan
izda	jízda	ride

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
	J	
já	já	I
jak	jak	how
jaké	jakí	what kind of
jalovica; jalovička (dim.)	jalovice; jalovička	heifer; young heifer
jarn'i (adj.)	jarn'í	spring
jaro (noun)	jaro	spring
jasné	jasní	clear
jeden	jeden	one, a
jeho; jeji	jeho, její	his, hers
jenom	jen	only
jest	jíst	to eat
	K	
k, ke	k, ke	to, towards
kád'a	kád'	tub
kamené	kamení	stony
kaváren'	kavárna	coffee shop
kde	kde	where
kdejaké	kdejakí	any kind of
kdibi	kdibi	if
kdiž	kdiž	when
kdo	kdo	who
kecat	kecat	to prate
keré	kterí	which

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
kévat (impf.)	kívat	to swing
kévnot (pf.)	kívnout	to swing
klec	klec	cage
klenót; klenba	klenout; klenba	to arch; vault
klič	klíč	key
klika	klika	door handle
klobók	klobouk	hat
klub	klub	club
klubové (adj.)	klubový	club
kluk	hox	boy
knot	knot	wick
kn'ez	kn'ez	priest
kn'iže	kn'íže	prince
kn'ižka	kn'ížka	book
kn'ižn'i (adj.)	kn'ižn'í	bookish
kn'órat	kn'ourat	to whimper
koči	koči	coachman
kočka	kočka	cat
kohót	kohout	rooster
kolečko	kolečko	little wheel
kolek	kolek	duty stamp
kolék	kolík	little stick
kolibka	kolébka	cradle
kolik	kolik	how much
komin	komin	chimney
komorná	komorná	chamber maid

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
končit	končit	to finish
konec	konec	end
kopat	kopat	to dig
kópat	koupat	to bathe
kópit (pf.)	koupit	to buy
korat	korat	to dry (about bread)
korek	korek	cork
kórka	kurka	crust
koritko	koritko	little trough
korito	korito	trough
koruna	koruna	crown
kost'	kost	bone
kos	kos	basket
kót	kout	corner
kováren'a, kováren'	kovárna	smithy
kovář	kovář	blacksmith
koza	koza	goat
kraj	kraj	region
krása	krása	beauty
krast	krást	to steal
kráva	kráva	cow
kréči	krejčí	tailor
krit	krít	to cover
krucinál	krucifiks	damn
křest, křtu (G sg.)	křest	baptism
křik	křik	shout

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
křižem - krážem	křížem - krážem	crosswise
křovisko	křovisko	shrubs
kšš	kšš	used to chase away animals
kuča	hromada	pile
kuxin'a	kuxin'	kitchen
kul	kúl	post
kun'	kún'	horse
kupa	kupa	heap
kuna	kuna	marten
kupec	kupec	merchant
kupovat (impf.)	kupovat	to buy
kuře	kuře	chicken
kuža	kúže	leather
kvočna	kvočna	clucking hen

L

lampa	lampa	lamp
látka	látka	textile
lavica	lavice	bench
lavka	lávka	foot bridge
leckdá	leckdi	at times
léčba	léčba	treatment
led	led	ice
leda	jen	only
ledové	ledoví	icy

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
lehnót si	lehnout si	to lie down
lék	lék	medicine
len	len	flax
les	les	forest
lesn'i (adj.)	lesní	forest
lev, lva (G sg.)	lev	lion
ležet; ležmo (adv.)	ležet; ležmo	to lie; while lying down
lhat	lhat	to tell lies
lip	lépe	better
lit	lít	to pour
lóbat	líbat	to kiss
Lojza	Alojz	proper name
lóka	louka	meadow
loket'	loket	elbow
lópež	loupež	robbery
lovec; lovecké (adj.)	lovec; loveckí	hunter; hunting

M

mak	mák	poppy
málokeré	malokterí	hardly any
mama	maminka	little mother
Manka	Marie	Maria
matka	matka	mother
mazat	mazat	to erase
méno	jméno	name

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
menovat	jmenovat	to name
mi	mi	we
midlo	mídlo	soap
milerád	milerád	with pleasure
minót	minout	to miss
misa	mísa	bowl
misto	místo	place
mladé	mladí	young
mlén	mlín	mill
mliko	mléko	milk
mluva	mluva	speech
mn'et	mít	to have
mn'esic	mn'esíc	month
mn'esto	mjesto	city
moc	mnoho	too many, much
moja	moje	my (for fem. nouns)
móka	mouka	flour
moře	moře	sea
most	most	bridge
mrtvé	mrtvi	dead
muj	múj	my (for masc. nouns)
muxa	mouxa	fly
muž; mužské (adj.)	muž; mužskí	man, husband; manlike

N

na	na	on
nahlas	nahlas	aloud
nait	najít	to find

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
najezené	najezení	satiated
nama	námi	with us
naopak	naopak	on the contrary
napipipi nanana	no equivalent	used when feeding chickens
natočit	natočit	to fill (a pail)
navlict, navleč (imp.)	navléci, navleč	to put on
naučit	naučit	to learn
náš	náš	our
naše	naše	our (with pl. nouns)
neht	nehet	nail (human)
nekolik	n'ekolik	few
nemluvit	nemluvit	to keep silent
nemoc	nemoc	illness
nepjekné	nepjekní	not nice
nepřát, nepřeja (gerund)	nepřát, nepřejíc	not wishing
neřikat, neřiké (imp.)	neříkat, neříkej	not to say, do not say!
netopir	netopír	bat
nevjed'et, nevim (1st p.)	nevjed'et, nevím	not to know
neučit	neučit	not to learn
nevid'et	nevid'et	not to see
nex or nexé	nexej	let (him)
nist, nesu (1st p.)	nést, nesu	to carry
noha	noha	leg
nové	noví	new
nuša	núše	pannier

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
nuž	núž	knife
n'ic	n'ic	nothing
n'iči	n'ičí	nobody's
n'ijaké	n'ijakí	none, no sort of
n'ikdo	n'ikdo	no one
n'it'	n'it'	thread
n'izko (adv.)	n'ízko	low

O

o	o	about
obhospodařovat	obhospodařovat	to cultivate
objed	objed	dinner
objednat	objednat	to order
objetovat	objetovat	to sacrifice
očenáš	otčenáš	Lord's prayer
od	od	from
odd'elat	odd'elat	to work off
od'elat	odd'elat	to remove
odpovjed'et	odpovjed'et	to answer
odseknót	odseknout	to chop off
odstavit	odstavit	to put aside
odtamtut'	odtamtud	from there
ohen'	ohen'	fire
ohrad'it (pf.)	ohrad'it	to fence
ohrazovat (impf.)	ohrazovat	to fence
okno	okno	window

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
oko; oči (remnant of dual) oka (regular pl.)	oko, oči, oka	eye, eyes, loops
okolo	okolo	around
okót	okout	sheathe
olej	olej	oil
on, ona, ono	on, ona, ono	he, she, it
oplácet (impf.)	oplácet	to repay
oplat'it (pf.)	oplat'it	to repay
oprat'a	oprat'	rein
óřad (more often: uřad)	úřad	bureau
otázka	otázka	question
otec, otca (G sg.)	otec	father
ovči (adj.)	ovčí	sheep's

P

pajdat	kulhat	to limp
pán	pán	mister
pan'i	pan'í	lady
papir	papír	paper
pás	pás	waist
pásek	pásek	belt
páté	pátí	fifth
pátek	pátek	Friday
pen'ize	pen'íze	money
péro	pero	pen
peřej	peřej	rapids
pes	pes	dog

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
pict	péci	to bake
pilíř	pilíř	column
pirko	pírko	little feather
piskat	pískat	to whistle
pismo	písmo	writing
pisn'a	písen'	song
pit	pít	to drink
pit'i	pit'í	drinks
pjekné	pjekní	nice
pjest'	pjest	fist
pjet	pjet	fire
plačme	plačme	let us cry
plakat	plakat	to cry
plat'it	plat'it	to pay
ples	ples	ball (masquerade)
pletla	pletla	she twisted
po	po	after
pocem	pojd' sem	come here
pod	pod	under
podřeknót	podřeknout	to blab
podzim	podzim	autumn
pod'ivat se	pod'ívat se	to take a look
polibek (more often: pusa)	polibek	kiss
pórek	pórek	celery
poslexnót	poslexnout	to obey
postaru	postaru	in the old way

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
póšč	poušt'	desert
potajmu	potají	secretly
potom	potom	afterwards
poučit	poučit	to instruct
povodn'a	povoden'	flood
pózdro	pouzdro	holster
práca	práce	work
pracovat	pracovat	to work
prásk; praskat	prásk; práskat	bang! to crack
prat	prát	to wash (clothes)
pro	pro	for
proč	proč	why
prodat	prodat	to sell
prosba	prosba	plea
prosit	prosit	to beg
protože	protože	because
prot'ivá, prot'i	prot'i	against
prr	prr	used to stop horses
prst	prst	finger
pršet	pršet	to rain
prvn'i	prvn'í	first
pruvodči	průvodčí	conductor
přečtené (pas. part.)	přečten	read
před	před	before
předseda	předseda	chairman

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
přemišlat	přemýšlet	to think
přes	přes	across
při	při	near
přibuzné	příbuzní	relative
přiit	přijít	to come
přimé	přimí	direct
přinist	přinést	to bring
přiznat se	přiznat se	to confess
psat	psát	to write
pšen'ica	pšen'ice	wheat
pták	pták	bird
ptat se	ptát se	to ask
puda	púda	attack
pust'it	pust'it	to let go

R

rád	rád	glad
rana	rána	blow
razit	razit	to thrust
riba (noun)	riba	fish
ribi (adj.)	ribí	fish
ročn'i (adj.)	ročn'í	year
rok	rok	year
román	román	novel
rozum	rozum	sense

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
rožnót	rožnout	to switch on the light
ruka, ruki (pl.)	ruka, ruce	hand, hands
	Ř	
řada	řada	row
řax	boux	bang!
řeka	řeka	river
řekl; řict	řekl; říci	he said; to say
	S	
s	s	with
sám	sám	alone
sakra	sakra	damn
sázet	sázet	to sow
sed'et	sed'et	to sit
sem	sem	to here
sen	sen	dream
seno	seno	hay
sestra	sestra	sister
sétko	sítko	little sieve
shazovat	shazovat	to throw down
shoda	shoda	accord
sxopné	sxopní	able
sin	sin	son
sinek	sin	little son

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
sito	síto	sieve
sit'	sít'	net
sklep	sklep	cellar
skrzevá	skrz	across
slepica	slepice	hen
smát se	smát se	to laugh
smn'elé	smjelí	daring
smutek	smutek	sorrow
smutne (adj.)	smutní	sad
sn'ih	sn'íh	snow
sódce	soudce	judge
sódruh	soudruh	comrade
soka (G sg.)	soka	of rival
s oka	s oka	from the eye
spat	spat	to sleep
stačit	stačit	to keep up with, to suffice
staré	starí	old
stat; stat se	stát, stát se	to stand; to happen
staven'i	staven'í	edifice
sto	sto	100
stopa	stopa	footprint
stópat	stoupat	to step
stroj	stroj	machine
středa	středa	Wednesday
střed'isko	střed'isko	centre

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
stuha	stuha	ribbon
stul	stůl	table
st'ežovat si	st'ežovat si	to complain
suxé	suxí	dry
suxem	suxem	by draught
s uxem	s uxem	by ear
sul	sůl	salt
s ulice	s ulice	from the street
sužovat	sužovat	to harass
svuj	svuj	(my) own

Š

šak	však	but
šati	šati	dress
ščáva	št'áva	juice
ščen'e	št'en'e	puppy
šest	šest	six
široké	široký	wide
šit	šit	to sew
škaredé	škaredí	ugly
škrn'k	prask	crack!
šlapa	šlépjej	foot
šnek	šnek	snail
štvrté	čtvrtí	fourth
švec	švec	cobbler

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
	T	
tajit	tajit	to keep secret
tam	tam	there
ten, ta, to	ten, ta, to	that
tele	tele	calf
teleci	telecí	veal
temno (adv.)	temno	dark
tenké	tenkí	thin
teplo	teplo	warmth
ti	ti	you (familiar)
tiden'	tíden	weak
tma	tma	darkness
toš	tedy	well, then
tráva	tráva	grass
trefa	zásah	hit
trpjet	trpjet	to suffer
třet'i	třet'í	third
tři	tři	three
tvoja	tvoje	your (for fem. nouns)
tvor	tvor	creature
tvrdé	tvrdí	hard
tvuj	tvúj	your (for masc. nouns)
	T'	
t'apat	t'apat	to paw
t'ixé (adj.)	t'ixí	quiet

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
t'ixo (adv.)	t'ixo	quiet
t'isic	t'isíc	thousand
t'isknót	t'isknout	to print
	U	
u	u	at
učet	účet	bill
učit se	učit se	to learn
uxo, uši (remnant of dual), uxa (pl.)	uxo, uši, uxa	ear, ears, handles
ulica	ulice	street
ukradené	ukradení, ukraden	stolen
umivat	umívat	to wash
umn'et	umjet	to know how
uřad	úřad	bureau
usinat (impf.)	usínat	to fall asleep
usnót (pf.)	usnout	to fall asleep
utict (pf.)	utéci	to run away
ut'ikat (impf.)	ut'íkat	to run
uvid'et	uvid'et	to notice
	V	
v, ve; ve-	v, ve; ve-	in; perfectivizing prefix
vagabund	vagabund	scamp
válka	válka	war
vařit	vařit	to cook
váš	váš	your

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
ve	ve	in
večer	večer	evening
večern'i (adj.)	večern'í	evening
vem (Imperative)	vezmi	take
venku	venku	outside
veřej	veřej	door-post
vesn'ica	vesn'ice	village
vesn'ické (adj.)	vesn'ickí	village
vi	vi	you (sg. polite form, and plural)
vibrat	vibrat	to select
vicemén'e	vícemén'e	more or less
vidři (adj.)	vidří	otter's
vid'et	vid'et	to see
vim (lst sg.)	vím	I know
vinášet (impf.)	vinášet	to carry out
vinist (pf.)	vinést	to carry out
visoko (adv.)	visoko	high
vizt (pf.)	vézt	to carry
vjec	vjec	thing
vjed'et	vjed'et	to know
vjenovat	vjenovat	to dedicate
vlax	vlax	Dutchman
vlak	vlak	train
vlasi	vlasi	hair
vlašské (adj.)	vlašskí	Dutch

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
vlez (imper.)	vlez	crawl in!
voda	voda	water
vodové (adj.)	vodoví	water
voják	voják	soldier
vudce	vúdce	leader
vul; vola (G sg.)	vúl	ox

Z

z, ze; ze-	z, ze; ze-	from; perfect. prefix
za; za-	za; za-	after, behind; perf. prefix
zabité (pass. part.)	zabit	killed
zámek	zámek	castle, lock
zapomenót	zapomenout	to forget
zářa	záře	glare
zas	zase	again
zasad'it	zasad'it	to plant, sow
zaslexnót	zaslexnout	to overhear
zato	zato	but
zatopit	zatopit	to heat up, to flood
zautomatizovat	zautomatizovat	to mechanize
zbořit	zbořit	to destruct
zdravje (adv.)	zdravje	healthy, well
zdřimnót	zdřímnout	to take a nap
ze	ze	from
zet'	zet'	son-in-law

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
zfamfrn'et	zpišn'et	to become haughty
zhořet	zhořet	to burn down
zhruba (adv.)	zhruba	roughly, approximately
zima	zima	winter, cold
zlato	zlato	gold
zlé (adj.)	zlí	evil
zlehka (adv.)	zlehka	slightly
zlod'ej	zlod'ej	thief
zmija	zmije	viper
zobracet	zobracet	to turn over
zodpovjed'et	zodpovjed'et	to answer
zohnót	zohnout	to bend
zohnuté (adj.)	zohnutí	bent
zorat	zorat	to plough; to mess up
zorganizovat	zorganizovat	to organize
zpjev	zpjev	singing
zrcadlo	zrcadlo	mirror
zub	zub	tooth
zužit (pf.)	zúžit	to make narrower
zužitkovat	zužitkovat	to utilize
zužovat (impf.)	zužovat	to make narrower

Ž

žaba	žába	frog
žák	žák	pupil

Morkovice dialect	Standard Czech	English
žena, ženská	žena	woman, wife
žen'it se	žen'it se	to get married (about a man)
žit	žít	to live
žrádlo	žrádlo	grub
žrat	žrát	to glut

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